

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear"

The Monitor's view

End of era in Israel

Israel's friends and adversaries abroad are bound to be stunned by the victory of the right-wing Likud in last week's parliamentary elections. The defeat of the Labor Party, which has ruled since the nation's founding, is a development of major proportions. On the face of it, it will certainly delay, if not set back, the quest for a negotiated Middle East peace settlement.

The reasons are apparent. Menachem Begin, leader of the Likud, is an avowed hardliner. He has been intransigently opposed to giving up all Arab territory seized in the 1967 war in exchange for Arab recognition of Israel's right to exist. He has favored annexing the occupied West Bank and Gaza, where the Arabs would like to establish a nation for Palestinians.

Given this militant position, then, the big question is whether Mr. Begin will modify it if he emerges as prime minister. So far the signals give some reason for cautious hope that he may. He has already stated publicly he will form a wide-ranging coalition government and open talks with Egypt, Syria, and Jordan, possibly at a peace conference in Geneva.

That remains to be seen of course. In any event, the imperative now is that the Arab states react as if all the chances for negotiations this year were automatically down the drain. Clearly it will take a while to form a new Israeli government and for the political dust to settle. In this period the frontlines Arab leaders can best contribute to diplomatic momentum by continuing their moderate, flexible stance — and talking peace. It can be argued that a more conservative leader in Israel will be better able to make the concessions necessary to achieve a compromise settlement (an argument we would not overdraw, however). Until it becomes plain what tack Mr. Begin will take, it is important that the diplo-

matic situation not be permitted to deteriorate due to impatience and harsh rhetoric.

Meanwhile, Israel's first order of business is to put its political house in order. Recent polls suggest that it was primarily domestic issues rather than foreign policy which figured in the election results. If so, this would encouragingly indicate that Israelis are not asking for a tougher line against the Arabs — a development that would make peace even harder of achievement — but for reform of their government, an elimination of scandal and corruption, and new policies to lift the nation out of its economic difficulties. To the extent that the Israeli people voted against the kind of financial manipulation and deceit that have dogged the Labor Party of late, one can only sympathize with their desire for a cleanup. Their democracy after all is precious to the whole world and a strengthening of its vitality and integrity can only benefit the cause of peace.

However, the Labor Party's loss is less to the right-of-center Likud than to the Democratic Movement for Change, a fast-growing political newcomer that has called for dramatic political and social reforms. If the vote for the Democratic Movement, headed by archaeologist Yigael Yadin, is combined with that for the Labor Party this would represent a pretty solid bloc. In other words, there has not been a groundswell of public support for the Likud, a fact that could result in a rather weak government in Israel.

It is not even certain whether the other parties will participate in a coalition. To the extent they are brought in, however, this will have a moderating effect on Israel's overall policy. Mr. Yadin's position, for instance, is less hawkish than that of the Likud. If the Likud agrees to go along with the kind of domestic reforms Mr. Yadin seeks, the two parties conceivably could work together.

Phasing out oil — together

The energy challenge facing America — and other nations — is not simply what President Carter called the "moral equivalent of war." As coined by William James the phrase originally meant a morally acceptable equivalent of the adventure and glory men thought they saw in war. But there is no moral equivalent for selfish pursuit of national interests. And, as shown by the 15-nation Workshop on Alternative Energy Strategies (WAES) reported in today's Monitor, the energy shortage calls for unprecedented international cooperation, not competition.

As with all such studies, the WAES conclusions are only as good as the economic and resource estimates that underlie them. To some extent, these are unavoidably arbitrary and subjective. However, since they reflect the assumptions behind national energy planning in the noncommunist industrial world, which consumes most of the energy, they make a telling point. No energy policy planned largely from a national viewpoint is realistic. Even allowing for "wise" conservation and substitution of alternative fuels, these national policies count on importing oil to meet expected needs. The WAES study holds out little hope for doing this. Putting all the national energy projections together, it finds that, sometime between now and 2000, perhaps in the 1980s, there would no longer be enough oil to go around.

The bottom line of the study, says WAES coordinator Carroll Wilson, is that "the free world must drastically curtail the growth of energy use and move massively out of oil... with wartime urgency." To this extent, you might call meeting the energy shortage a moral equivalent of war.

But, Dr. Wilson notes, the main corollary to that conclusion is that "the critical interdependence of nations in the energy field requires an unprecedented degree of international collaboration...." This is not a metaphorical call to arms, but a call to brotherhood. This is not a crusade, but a search for mutual salvation. There are no enemies to conquer, unless they be short-sighted nationalism or refusal to face the energy facts. Instead of the moral equivalent of war, we see in the energy shortage the moral challenge of the Golden Rule.

Not even the United States, with full implementation of the Carter plan, could go it alone in energy. Energy, impacting nations' must coordinate their policies with each other and with the energy exporters, especially the OPEC countries. Only when conceived in an international context and in ways to ensure that everyone's need can be met, will national energy plans succeed.

From Britain to the United States — a fresh young face

Heckling in the House of Commons notwithstanding, the British Government's selection of Peter Jay to be Her Majesty's Ambassador to Washington is an excellent one. The heckling of course took place because Mr. Jay is Prime Minister James Callaghan's son-in-law. The appearance of nepotism does not sit well among British any more than American lawmakers — nor should it.

But the only regrettable thing about the Jay appointment is indeed the family link, and since Mr. Jay has so many fine attributes for

the job and since this is hardly a case of political favoritism, we think this connection can be safely minimized. Mr. Jay, economics editor of the Times of London, is recognized as one of the brightest and most outstanding men in Britain. His intellectual brilliance, his expertise in economics, his open nature, and his youth make him eminently suitable to gain the ear of the youthful Carter.

It is in fact fascinating to watch younger men and women move into the world of diplomacy. British Foreign Secretary David Owen



Lessons of the Ulster strike

It is not surprising that militant Protestants are claiming a measure of success for the 11-day strike in Northern Ireland. But the encouraging fact is that the strike failed. Far from bringing the province to a standstill, it rallied power-plant workers, teachers, merchants, and others to a marvelous display of courage to stay on the job despite threats and intimidation.

In this sense, the strike turned out to be a quiet vote for peace. Indeed perhaps the most significant development in Ulster these days is the gathering strength of the peace movement. Protestants and Roman Catholics alike are tangibly showing they are weary of violence and chaos and yearn for compromise and stability.

But even this show of bravery would hardly have been possible without the firm stand taken by the British Government. The lesson of the Ulster strike is in fact that the way to keep order in Northern Ireland is through the strong presence of the British Army and police — until the contending forces are ready for genuine political solutions. How regrettable that this policy was not applied during the crippling general strike of 1974. If it had been, we might today be seeing a sharing of power between this majority Protestant and this minority Catholic. Be that as it may, credit now belongs to Prime Minister James Callaghan and Northern Ireland Secretary Roy Mason for their determined stand. Presumably the lesson has been well learned.

Meanwhile, as the British batten down for a long stay, there is hopeful news on another

front. That is the growing support and understanding which Ulster peace forces are gaining in the United States. American politicians — Gov. Hugh Carey of New York, Senator Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts, and others — are all speaking out against the indirect financial and moral aid which Irish-Americans have been giving (often unthinkingly and unwittingly) to the illegal Irish Republican Army (IRA). If this American connection were broken, the IRA would be gravely weakened.

There is another American connection, however, which Ulstermen would like. Recently two Belfast social workers, a Presbyterian minister and a Roman Catholic, made a swing through the U.S. and Canada in search of new ideas. More than just a cutting off of funds for the IRA, they urged Americans and Canadians to write their lawmakers and Ulster church and political leaders in support of the peace movement. This, they said, would give moderate forces in Northern Ireland a boost in morale. Just as did UN Ambassador Andrew Young's interview on British television attacking guerrilla forces which lack majority support.

Here, then, is the right kind of help from overseas. When the ordinary people of Northern Ireland stand up to resist intimidation, to call for compromise, when the British Government exerts the strength necessary to keep the peace, and when the IRA is choked off for lack of funds, the conditions will be created for a peaceful solution of the Irish question. That may still be some time off. But the events of recent days and weeks give glimpses of hope.

who picked Mr. Jay, is himself in the new mold of the nonpolitical diplomat. Washington's Andrew Young is another. And while it is premature to judge their record there is no doubt they have brought a freshness and innovative approach to foreign policy that could prove positive. Washington will not be welcoming a stranger. Mr. Jay is a longtime friend of and visitor to the United States. He is said to have a warm feeling for America and that augurs well for continuing that special relationship

WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL EDITION

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Monday, May 30, 1977

60¢ U.S.



By Albert J. Forbes, staff artist

Two crowns for Brezhnev?

By David K. Willis
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow
Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev can be expected to appoint himself to replace Nikolai Podgorny as Soviet chief of state while retaining his own post as head of the Communist Party, according to a Soviet source here.

Veteran Soviet journalist Viktor Louis says it is "reasonable to expect" that the appointment will come as soon as the text of the new Soviet constitution is ratified later this year. The constitution provides for the integration of the posts of party chief and head of state, Mr. Louis says.

If this does happen — and Western diplomats here agree that it is a logical development in light of their own analyses — it will be of major importance as the first

post-Khrushchev shake-up in the Kremlin. Diplomats say Mr. Brezhnev's aims are: (1) to take full ceremonial as well as actual power himself just as a number of Eastern European leaders have done; (2) to prepare for his own long-awaited succession; and (3) to try to ensure that he will be treated kindly by history.

He is thought determined to be the first party chief since Lenin not to sink into oblivion as soon as he leaves office.

Diplomats are inclined to listen carefully to Mr. Louis's interpretation of events. Mr. Louis was the first correspondent to report the fall from power of Nikita Khrushchev in 1964.

A number of diplomats think that Mr. Brezhnev will move, perhaps next year after taking over the two posts, to appoint his own successor as party chief.

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In celebration of wheels

By Melvin Maddocks
A three-column cutaway drawing featuring the most sophisticated detail appeared in a recent issue of the Village Voice. The Concorde engine, perhaps? Or the latest intercontinental ballistic missile? Maybe the newest weapons-control device?

Wrong, wrong, and wrong. The caption read: "Diagram of the fabled Magnon skateboard, showing its complex engineering" — down to the last 1/8th precision bearing.

Gone are the days when a skateboard was

old roller skates lashed to a side of orange crate. A proper skateboard costs from \$60 to well over \$100, and with optional accessories — gloves, wrench, special grip tape, and so on — the total tab can run to \$300. Custom wheels bear names like Cadillac and Rolls-Royce. There is even the obligatory magazine — Skateboarder — to arbitrate the fad.

Skateboards, roller skates (yes, they're back, too), tandems, mopeds, 10-speed bicycles or even one-speed bicycles — spring brings out all the wheels.

One imagines the tools of power, from crossbow to atomic bomb, being invented during the winter. Gray skies outside. Frozen, barren earth. Inside a windowless lab, pale faces scowl over their deadly inspirations — the descendants of Vulcan, hammering away at his airless forge.

On the other hand, the tools of mobility — all the wheels — must have been invented outdoors, in the spring, the season for travel and, if you will, escape.

The usual scenario supposes that the first stone wheel was devised as a utilitarian object, sort of a Stone Age truck: the swanky product of an Ernest Borgnine-like Cro-Magnon man with freight to haul. But it seems more right, and therefore more likely, that the first wheel

man was a Charlie Chaplin type and that the

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Oil: greatest user meets greatest producer

President Carter and Saudi's Crown Prince Fahd talk oil and peace

By Joseph C. Harsch

There was a summit meeting in Washington this past week. It was not called or billed as such, yet it was the most important meeting in terms of the economic welfare of the United States and of its friends and allies since Jimmy Carter became President of the United States. At stake was the price and supply of oil from the Middle East to the oil-consuming industrial countries of the world.

Mr. Carter was receiving Crown Prince Fahd of Saudi Arabia. Mr. Carter was representing oil speaking for all of the main oil consumers. Prince Fahd was speaking for the world's single biggest oil exporter. It was as though the Emperor of the West was negotiating with the Grand Caliph of Mecca for the means of keeping the workshops of the industrial world going at accustomed pace. Prince Fahd could shut them down overnight were he to be disappointed.

At issue is Mr. Carter's ability and willingness to deliver what Prince Fahd must have if his country is to continue to be a moderating influence among the oil-producing countries of OPEC (Organization of Oil Producing Countries).

Intensely Saudi Arabia has held down the price of oil as the other producers seek to drive it up. This year the others want a 16 percent rise. Washington would like to see no rise at all, but knows that there must be some since the price of Western industrial goods sold to the oil producers keeps going up. The probable outcome will be the Saudis holding the rise this year to 10 percent.

But even holding the oil-price rise at 10 percent is contingent on Mr. Carter's assurance that he will give top priority to the search for a settlement in the Middle East — including the restoration to the Arab countries of most of the territories taken from them in the 1967 war and still occupied by the Israelis.

Unmentioned in the formal talks at the White House (because it was not necessary) is the implicit ability of the Saudis to take the

lead to shut off all Arab oil from the Persian Gulf to the United States, Western Europe, and Japan if there is no progress toward restoration of the lost Arab territories.

There was an oil embargo in 1973 and 1974. There could be another any day. Saudi Arabia is the key country. It produces so much of the world's oil that its voice is decisive in the councils of OPEC.

There was an accidental (so far as is known) warning the other day when one of the secondary oil pipelines in Saudi Arabia caught fire. Briefly, half of the country's oil production was

Commentary

shut off. The fire was out within 24 hours and full production was shortly resumed. But the original report was enough to cause a minor panic on the Tokyo currency and stock exchanges.

Experts said that if the fire had occurred at or near the main oil terminals the entire supply of Saudi oil could have been shut off for as much as six to eight months. The United States runs on a two-week reserve. West Europe has reserves enough for three or four months. No industrial country has enough oil reserves to keep going at full blast for six months.

Before leaving for Washington Prince Fahd met in Riyadh with President Sadat of Egypt and President Assad of Syria. In a newspaper interview at the time he said: "We have taken the initiative in this question of oil prices. The United States should now embark on a similar initiative."

President Carter must have been thinking of the relationship between oil and the occupied Arab territories on Monday (May 23) when he said of the Middle East:

"This may be the most propitious time for a general settlement since the beginning of the Arab-Israeli conflict. To let this opportunity pass could mean disaster, not only for the Middle East, but perhaps for the international political and economic order also."

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S. Africa's sports minister:

Can he integrate the political game?

By Humphrey Tyler
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Cape Town
For the first time, a South African Cabinet minister has given a new interpretation of ruling National Party policy that could allow for all the races in the country to share power in some sort of federal or confederal system, on the Swiss pattern.

Previously it has been Nationalist policy to deny any suggestion that the whites might share political power on any significant basis — even in a federation — because this would mean that the blacks would "plow the white man under."

But Dr. Piet Koornhof, the controversial Minister of Sport, who has so "adapted" the traditionally strictly segregationist Nationalist sports policy that most sports are now racially

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Why Britain thanks her (Special section inside)

Highlights

Southern Africa and the U.S. Now that America's messengers to southern Africa are back home again, the Monitor's overseas news editor discusses the impact these men (Vice-President Mondale and UN Ambassador Andrew Young) have had and what the effect of their journeys is likely to be. **Page 5**

Queen Elizabeth II. The Monitor celebrates the Queen's Jubilee with a special section that includes articles on the Royal Family (by John Allan May and Joseph C. Harsch), and on Britain today (including Harold Hobson on theater and Lord Gore-Booth on the U.S.-British relationship). **Pages B1-B20**

A world going nuclear. As more and more nations acquire the means to make nuclear bombs, the SALT talks may be the last chance to stop the spread of these weapons. **Page 14**

British art in the U.S. A collection of British works of art - staggering in quantity and quality - has been acquired by Yale University and is open to the public. **Page 22**

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THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Founded in 1908 by Mary Baker Eddy
An International Daily Newspaper

Board of Trustees
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Editor of the weekly International Edition
Pamela Marsh
Assistant editor: John Edwards Young

Published daily except Sunday, Monday and Holidays in the U.S.A. Weekly International Edition (available outside of U.S.A. only) is composed of selected material in daily North American edition and material prepared exclusively for the International Edition.

Subscription Rates
North American Edition - One year \$45, six months \$25, three months \$12.50, single copy 25¢.
To place a new subscription in the continental United States, call the toll-free number - 800 253-7090 (Massachusetts call collect 617-252-7090). All other communications must be mailed to address below.

International Edition - One year \$25, six months \$12.50, single copy 25¢ (U.S.).
Direct mail compared throughout the world. Airmail rates upon request.

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Advertising rates given on application. While advertising to secure only reliable advertising, The Christian Science Publishing Society will not be responsible to the public for advertising, and the right to decline or discontinue any advertising is reserved.

International Standard Serial Number: 0193-0027
The Christian Science Monitor
A Davenport Place, London W1A 1JL, England
Phone: 01-253-2222
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One Newbury Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A. 02116
Phone: (617) 262-2300

FOCUS

Hong Kong's big planned cities

By Frederic A. Moritz

By Western standards one room of living space is small.

But by any standard, the city growing up around the Chau family's new apartment is big.

The 400 cramped, but neat, square feet occupied by Mrs. Chau Sau-ying, her bus driver husband, and their three children belong to one of the world's largest planned cities. When completed by 1985 the "new town" of Sha Tin, here in Hong Kong, is to hold 500,000 new residents in a largely self-contained urban unit complete with schools, industries, shops, recreational centers, and "green space."

By then 1.5 million people are to be sheltered in three of these new towns in one of the world's most ambitious efforts to handle population growth and housing shortages. The once-rural "new territories," an area north of central Hong Kong but nonetheless part of the British colony, will hold most of them, including She Tin.

Those who will be moving into these new towns include 250,000 squatters and thousands more who now live in smaller, dingier apartments in older housing estates built since 1953.

The Chau family had been on a waiting list for seven years before their new flat became available in Lek Yuen, a complex for

23,000 residents completed just last year. Lek Yuen is the first of 11 such estates to be built by the government at Sha Tin for an estimated \$870 million in American money. (Hong Kong also calls its currency the dollar.)

With rents ranging from \$33 (U.S.) a month for a flat holding five tenants to \$90 for one that will accommodate 13, life at Lek Yuen costs the Chaus more than their previous home - a wooden shack vulnerable to fire and typhoons.

"But we like the open view from the balcony and the fresh, clean air," explains Mrs. Chau. She shows off her neatly arranged living room, which includes a small area with a bunk bed for sleeping quarters. A partition separates the sleeping area from the rest of the room.

The allocated space of 35 square feet per person (plus in some cases extra space to allow for family growth) does not include the closet-like toilet and kitchen, located on apartment balconies. And it is not much roomier than the 25 square feet per person in older housing units, some of which rent for as little as \$5 a month.

But the design is more cheerful, the workmanship often better, and - unlike the older units - residents do not have to depend on communal toilets and water supplies.

Income and size of present living quarters are taken into consideration in deciding eligibility for the new housing. For a family of three the maximum monthly income permitted is \$388 (U.S.). For a family of more than 10 it is \$501.

Estates such as this one are designed to meet increasing pressure for housing. At most half of Hong Kong's population is under 25, and the demand for new housing is expected to soar in the next 10 years as these people marry and start families of their own.

On the other hand, rapid expansion of these "new towns" is expected to bring some social dislocation. The relative impersonality of 20-story high-rises will replace closely knit villages in rural areas once concerned with things like raising vegetables and pigs.

Because of the need to design these towns quickly, there was no time to consult anthropologists and sociologists for help in planning them after Hong Kong Gov. Murray MacLehose authorized the project in 1972, according to Allan Crosby, the chief planning officer for She Tin.

"It's a fight against time. If you are too slow, you are just treading water," Mr. Crosby explains.

But he says to limit social dislocation a number of principles of urban planning were incorporated, including sub-units with their own schools, playgrounds, and recreation halls to promote a sense of community; preservation where possible of buildings with local historic significance; and sites for shops and industry together with foot and bicycle paths so many residents could have jobs within easy reach of their living areas.

Are happy days really here again?

By Francis Renny
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

London
The London stock market bubbles happily over the 450 mark. The three-monthly trade surplus is the best for five years. Minimum lending rate down to 8 percent after its 12th cut this year. Building Society net receipts at an all-time high. . . . Are happy days really here again for the British? If so, which British?

There have been false alarms before, and gift-horses like these require some expert examination. Nevertheless, they all seem a lot healthier than some of the damaged nags that used to be paraded around the ring.

Everything, of course, needs to be regarded in the cruel light of inflation. That stock market index would need to be over 1,000 to put values back where they ought to be. Still, its recovery from the dumps of 18 months ago shows that commerce and business believe that profits can and will be made once more. This is confirmed in places like advertising, packaging and market research agencies, which have been taking off staff recently to create, locate, and placate the sales wave.

Clearly there is money about somewhere, or the Building Societies - so beloved of the small investor - wouldn't be bursting at the seams. And the more the government is compelled to talk about the future of pay restraint, the less restrained that talk becomes. Rightly or rashly, there's more money on the way for somebody.

Only the Italians, we are told, are worse paid than the British in 1977 Western Europe. The average industrial worker is taking home about £72 a week in Britain, if he's skilled. In West Germany, he'll get £135; in Italy only £60. Comparisons can be dodgy, though, where costs of living differ: it's cheaper to buy food and clothing in Britain, but the clear air of a higher overall standard of living strikes the nostrils of most Britons who holiday in Europe these days. The dirtiness of London compared even with Rome seems symptomatic.

Pay restraint has been holding the British wage-earner back, of course. Nowhere is that more obvious than in the competitive managerial brackets. A £1,000 a month job in Britain commonly merits two or two-and-a-half times that in West Germany or Holland. Let's leave aside the question of who really earns - deserves - money like that.



Britain should be able to do some catching up before long. For months, the enormous devaluation of sterling failed to do much in the way of stimulating exports of cheapened British goods. Now exports are picking up again.

Above all, the balance of oil payments - overtilted by successive Arab price increases - has begun to right itself. By the end of 1978, with more and more North Sea oilfields coming on stream, there should actually be a surplus on the United Kingdom energy account. Which should mean the Labour government's promises of a large overall surplus next year will prove true. So why be surprised that Mr. Callaghan tries to hold on at all costs, pushing the next election as far into golden '79 as he possibly can?

For the foreigner, the message ought to be "Hurry on over and enjoy the cheap British Pound" - before the Bank of England gets tired of holding the price down. The cheap pound is not why your average Briton is not in

fact singing "Happy Days" for it means expensive imports for him. And his low wages make it hard for him to believe that his shopping really does cost less than on the Continent.

Another dampener is the continuing level of unemployment - with another flood of summer school-leavers on the way. If Britain does get her industry moving again, it may well be on the basis of a labourer, trimmer, more etc. clearly disposed labour force.

As so often, things can be seen getting better at the very moment they're at their worst. Problem: how to survive the worst. How to meet those crushing food bills, rate demands, fare rises, until the tax cuts and wage increases arrive? And how to extract political enthusiasm and gratitude from voters who have yet to feel the warming rays of revival. It will be a great temptation for the government to make Christmas arrive early in 1979, to start handing out the gifts and before they have actually been paid for.

Moderation loses ground among Basques

By Joe Gandsimen
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Madrid
The Spanish Government has opted for a compromise in the face of Basque demands for total amnesty for the 30 remaining Basque political prisoners.

Under its formula the prisoners will be freed if they agree to exile abroad for the duration of their sentences.

But the move appears to be a stopgap one and may ultimately do little to end the unrest in the Basque region unless it is followed up with substantial action in other fields.

A wave of violence in the Basque country this past fortnight resulted in four persons being killed in clashes between police and demonstrators, the murder of a policeman by the Marxist Basque separatist organization, ETA, and the kidnapping of a leading Basque industrialist, Javier de Ybarra y Berge, a former mayor of Bilbao and close friend of King Juan Carlos. ETA's political-military wing claims credit for the kidnapping.

The government's position is fragile. ETA's aim is "a strategy of tension." Its theory is that ETA-promoted violence would force the government, under pressure from rightists in the military and police, to crack down on the Basques. Then, the argument goes, a revolutionary situation would develop.

That would eclipse moderate Basque forces which have recently been on the upswing. There have been ominous signs that moderate Basque attempts at "detente" with Madrid could be endangered:

• The small but important Koordinadora Abertzale Sozialista (KAS) has withdrawn its candidates from the upcoming legislative elections and asked moderate parties to do the same. KAS embraces Basque Trotskyites, Marxists, and leftist unions plus former ETA members who renounced "the armed struggle." If KAS-ETA militants feel democratic change is not possible they might return to the ETA "soldiers' fold."

• Basques are increasingly bitter that Madrid has not checked police excesses in putting down regional protests. Nor has it halted



Shepherd, Ezeaso in the Pyrenees

By a staff photographer

In the Basque region where Spain's democracy faces a tough test

openly operating ultra-rightist squads, which seem to be above the law. The police-Basque "war," foreign and Spanish analysts unambiguously say, lies at the root of the Basque problem.

On the other hand the government's gesture on the prisoners seems to have temporarily broken Basque solidarity. KAS urges abstention in the elections, ETA urges violence, but the Socialists and powerful Basque Nationalist Party (PNV) reject such calls and refuse appeals for a new general strike. The communist workers' commissions have termed Madrid's compromise formula "a significant step," although they add, it is not completely acceptable.

Five of the Basque prisoners already have left for Belgium (other sites may be Venezuela and Algeria) and, reports suggest, 19 more prisoners may follow.

A new exile problem will now result - and a new Basque issue, return of the exiles, may emerge. So protest will likely continue.

Thus, the government appears to have bought more time. The question is how long the time will last and whether it can be used to solve long-range problems for the Spanish regions.

Ulster vote suggests Protestant split

By Takashi Oka
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

By Jonathan Harsch

London
For the first time in Northern Ireland's complicated politics, sectarian Protestant parties have won only half the total vote in the violence-torn province, although numerically, Protestants constitute two-thirds of the 1,600,000 inhabitants.

This is the most encouraging result of local elections, which saw gains by both moderate and diehard Protestant parties. It means that some Protestant voters are beginning to think in political rather than sectarian terms. The elections, for 628 seats in 26 local councils, were held May 18 but counting was not completed until four days later.

The alliance party, which draws its strength equally from Protestant and Roman Catholics and which advocates power-sharing by the two communities, won 71 seats.

At the same time the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) led by intransigent Protestant Rev. Ian Paisley, took 73 seats. Both Alliance and the DUP took seats at the expense of Northern Ireland's traditional ruling party (and still the largest), the Official Unionists. The Unionists took 137 seats, whereas they used to hold 400.

Northern Ireland's second largest party is the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP). Drawing its strength mostly from Roman Catholics, the party won 108 seats. The SDLP, headed by Gerry Fitt, also believes in power-sharing, unlike the extremist, illegal Irish Republican Army.

As a result of the elections, these parties - the Official Unionists, the DUP, Alliance, and the SDLP - have become the four that count in Northern Ireland. Moderate Unionist groups like William Craig's Vanguard Party and the Unionist Party of Northern Ireland (UPNI) founded by the late Lord Faulkner were almost swept away, as were fringe groups like the so-

cialist Republican Clubs. Among Protestant parties, the Official Unionists are likely to swing away from rather than toward power-sharing as a result of the vote. The defeat of the Vanguard and UPNI and the success of Mr. Paisley's DUP seems to have convinced them that if they are to recapture votes it must be from the supporters of Mr. Paisley, because moderate Protestants seem to be voting for Alliance.

Mr. Paisley's supporters are cock-a-hoop. The general strike that Presbyterian minister Paisley organized and led two weeks ago collapsed ignominiously because ordinary Protestant workers refused to be intimidated into staying at home. (In one particularly brutal action, a city bus driver was shot dead.)

Yet Mr. Paisley's party has increased its vote. The conclusion must be that there has been a polarization among Protestant voters, some turning to diehard intransigence against the whole concept of power-sharing, others deciding that power-sharing, as exemplified by the Alliance Party's program, is the only solution after eight years of bitter civil strife.

The Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Roy Mason, is expected soon to take some kind of initiative to get intra-party talks going. He will have a difficult time. But, in the wake of the elections and the abortive general strike, there is at least a sense of movement.

Among Protestant parties, the Official Unionists are likely to swing away from rather than toward power-sharing as a result of the vote. The defeat of the Vanguard and UPNI and the success of Mr. Paisley's DUP seems to have convinced them that if they are to recapture votes it must be from the supporters of Mr. Paisley, because moderate Protestants seem to be voting for Alliance.

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Dulles neighbors favor Concorde

Washington
After a year of trial flights, the majority of people living near Dulles International Airport approve letting the supersonic transport land in the United States, the Federal Aviation Administration said.

In a news conference on the eve of the first anniversary of commercial SST landings at Dulles, the FAA said the Concorde also has proven no noisier than predicted and has shown itself to be less of a pollutant than had been anticipated.

FAA environmental officer Charles Foster said public opinion surveys taken before and after the Concorde started U.S. operations show "more people approved of the airplane after they heard it than before they heard it."

Europe

EC: select club for the chosen few?

By Takashi Oka
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

London
The European Community faces an embarrassing choice: Should it remain a cozy club of the region's richest countries? Or should it be enlarged to take in some of its poorer southern neighbors?

Nine European Community foreign ministers who met in the fairy-tale setting of Leeds Castle near Maidstone in Kent, England, spent most of May 21 and 22 discussing the hows and whys of admitting Greece, Portugal, and Spain to their even now far-from-homogeneous ranks.

As French Foreign Minister Louis deGaulle put it, "There are many complex issues surrounding a further enlargement." The community already had been enlarged from six to nine in 1973 when Britain, Denmark, and the Irish Republic joined and, as Mr. deGaulle commented, it has not worked as well as hoped since then.

Fisheries dispute

Britain is embroiled in a dispute with other community members over fishing limits (Britain wants its own exclusive 50-mile zone, as does the Irish Republic), and subsidies to pig farmers (which distorts the concept of the community as a single market).

These disputes, by and large, are between countries of similar backgrounds and standards of living. (Belgium, France, West Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands are the community's original six members.) Southern Italy and the Irish Republic fall behind the other Common Market regions in terms of wealth, and there are community officials who ask how it will be possible to integrate still poorer countries such as Greece and Portugal when, after 20 years within the community, the discrepancies between industrialized northern Italy and agricultural southern Italy still cause such problems.

The original vision

And yet, the original vision of the community was of a united, democratic Europe born from the ashes of a fearfully destructive war. Once the colonels' regime was overthrown in Greece, once the Salazar dictatorship was swept away in Portugal, there was no good reason not to entertain the membership applications of these two countries. Spain has not yet applied, but once the June 16 elections bring a democratic assembly into being and a new constitution is drafted, this ancient country also will be entitled to join.

The self-interest of French and Italian fruit, vegetable, and vineyard cultivators suggests long delays in accepting these new Mediterranean applicants, whose agriculture is backward and whose products compete with those of existing Common Market members.

The richer members - West Germany and the Benelux countries (Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg) - in effect would have to subsidize the newer ones through contributions to the common agricultural fund, just as in the community of nine they subsidize the agriculture of France, Italy, the Irish Republic, and Denmark.

Europe

What brought the French workers out on strike

By Jim Browning
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

The Center-Right government of President Giscard d'Estaing received its clearest demonstration yet of popular discontent, as virtually all of France's labor organizations joined in a one-day national protest strike May 24.

Labor leaders called it the most widely supported strike they had organized since the Fourth Republic collapsed 20 years ago (not counting the spontaneous worker-student rebellion of 1968).

Participating organizations ranged from the moderate middle-management employees' association to the Communist-led General Confederation of Labor. It was the first time in a political strike.

The strike came as both the left-wing coalition of Socialists and Communists and the governing coalition were trying to solve sharp internal differences and prepare for crucial parliamentary elections next March.

Pro-government analysts hope both to rekindle the apparently waning fear of communism among middle-class voters and to pro-

voke a split within the left-wing alliance. Although the Left's problems have recently been overshadowed by splits within the governing coalition, the Socialists and Communists have always had to patch over sharp personal and political disagreements in order to cooperate. Recently, after angry public disagreement over plans to update their "Common Program of Government," leaders of the three major parties in the alliance — the Communists, Socialists, and the small Radicals of the Left, staged a one-day summit meeting. They agreed to establish a commission to work out a compromise on their program for nationalizing major banks and certain of the largest industrial firms, and on increased social benefits for lower-income groups.

President Giscard d'Estaing's allies also are moving to patch up the disagreement that nearly made the Gaullist party refuse a recent vote of confidence in the government.

The President's own party has changed its name from the Independent Republicans to the Republican Party, and installed a young new secretary-general, Jean-Pierre Solon, a former minister of youth and sport, who has publicly dedicated himself to reducing tension with the Gaullists.

President Giscard d'Estaing said in a recent newspaper interview that he will not resign if the Left wins next year's parliamentary elections, but American columnist Joseph Kraft has written that the President told him he would continue to try to split the Socialists from the Communists and maintain the threat of dissolving Parliament.



Strike or no strike, Paris chef carries on by torchlight

That caused a small political stir, especially among the Gaullists, who see the President's goal of a broader new Center-Left coalition as part of the threat to their influence.

One of the purposes of the strike was to reforce the Socialists' argument that they will not break with the Communists to back the government.

Spaniards to Carter: 'Give us deeds to match those nice words'

By Joe Gandelman
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

The Carter administration is making a big push to support King Juan Carlos and, in a quieter vein, the political center led by Prime Minister Adolfo Suarez.

Washington steadfastly insists there is no political motivation involved. However, political circles here do not feel the timing of the spurt of attention being showered on Mr. Suarez, who is widely considered the King's political alter ego, is coincidental. These analysts note:

Within three weeks Mr. Suarez visited President Carter in Washington and Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and Vice-President Walter Mondale came to Madrid.

The purpose of the Vance visit was to precede over a meeting of the Spain-U.S. council set up under the 1976 treaty of friendship between the two countries, and Mr. Mondale dropped in while touring friendly capitals.

The Suarez visit to Washington became the backdrop for the Prime Minister's dramatic en-

try into the political arena, and the Vance and Mondale visits to Madrid came amid the unofficial but clear beginning of the campaign for Spain's parliamentary elections on June 16.

Statements by the American visitors hailed the monarchy and "the government" which now dominated the Democratic Center Union (UCD) coalition. These official statements and visits have been subsequently played up in the Spanish press, particularly on state-run radio and television, which have been projecting the image of a worldly wise, internationally popular "statesman Suarez."

Washington has backed King Juan Carlos et al. along. But now the King's plans seem threatened by the neo-Francisco Popular Alliance, some of whose members controlled the previous government. The Carter administration appears to feel that only "operation center" can safeguard American interests, gain Spanish entry into NATO and the European Common Market, and fulfill the King's dream of national reconciliation.

At the same time, however, there is growing disappointment that Carter administration sup-

port does not extend to such concrete measures as a new "Marshall Plan" which would boost Spain's ailing economy. A backlash appears particularly strong on the right. For instance, the Madrid daily ABC, which has become the Popular Alliance's spokesman, asks for "fewer words than deeds, or deeds in accordance with such nice words."

Analysts note the U.S. has eased up on previous requests to immediately admit Spain to NATO. The State Department denies there has been a shift, but the "new" position does appear to reflect Madrid's own wishes.

During the Franco era, Spain sought NATO and Common Market entry to emerge from the international ostracism heaped on the Franco regime, and to enter Europe. Now that strategically vital Spain is on the verge of becoming a democracy, debate is growing on whether membership in these two organizations would require major adjustments and whether the majority of Spaniards want to join.

NATO's Secretary-General Joseph Luns notes, "Spain wants to enter but not at any

price." Madrid has yet to define its post-Franco international priorities and wants to leave that to the new Cortes (Parliament). However, on May 21 the Spanish government made the first official attempt to seek information about NATO entry, and a notably high number of top Spanish military officials have visited NATO's Brussels headquarters in recent months.

One aim of the 1976 Spain-U.S. friendly treaty was to ease Spain gently into NATO. The Spain-U.S. council it set up gives Spain the same information and consultation facilities that NATO member countries get.

The Soviet Union seems increasingly concerned over the U.S.-Spain-NATO triangle.

On May 20 the Soviet Communist Party paper Pravda bitterly denounced Washington for "deciding" to convert Spain into one of the strongest military powers in the Mediterranean... since Greece and Turkey are not reliable allies." The blast came as Washington confirmed it would sell Spain 270 radar-guided Sparrow air missiles for \$33.9 million.

Turkey's poet-candidate, Ecevit, hits the campaign trail

By John K. Cooley
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor



Bulent Ecevit: draws big crowds

Antioch, Turkey
"This is the biggest crowd we've seen yet," said Mrs. Roshan Ecevit peering from the window of the Republican People's Party (RPP) white campaign bus.

Her husband, journalist, poet, and once and possibly future premier, Bulent Ecevit, waved from the roof of the bus to a wildly cheering sea of at least 200,000 upturned faces.

Antioch, like the southern Turkish cities of Adana and Iskenderun a few hours earlier, was releasing its pent-up enthusiasm for Mr. Ecevit as his convoy rolled along on a whistlestop campaign for Turkey's June 5 parliamentary elections.

With 70,000 people, Antioch, or Antakya to Turks, is probably smaller now than the Antioch of Bible times. But its streets were jammed with people from all parts of Turkey's surrounding Hatay Province. Earlier, the much bigger city of Adana had turned out a crowd close in size to its population of a half million or so.

The crowds cheering Mr. Ecevit, far larger than those seen for Premier and leader of the conservative Justice Party (MSP),

are mostly young crowds. Simple working folk, as well as intellectuals, academics, and professional people, welcome Mr. Ecevit as one of their own.

"It's only in our party," says Mrs. Ecevit, who usually campaigns with her husband, "that women's participation is really serious. At first, the women were forced to attend. But since the 1973 elections [when the RPP made big gains, before Mr. Ecevit was elected to power the first time], it's for real."

In the baking sun on Adana's streets, while women blew kisses, police and gendarmes, brushing aside the roses thrown at the bus, nervously eyed the crowded rooftops. Adana is the parliamentary seat of one of Mr. Ecevit's most fanatical opponents, former Col. Alparslan Turkes, head of the quasi-fascist "Gray Wolf" commando groups of his National Action Party.

"The 'Gray Wolves,'" says Mr. Ecevit, were the would-be killers who opened fire on his bus in eastern Turkey at the start of the campaign. Afterward, President Fahri Koruturk ordered careful Army and gendarmes protection for the opposition leader whose party is close to the social democrats of Western Europe.

Mr. Ecevit's campaign speeches stress not Turkey's troubled relations with the United States and Greece, but bread and butter eco-

nomics issues of unemployment, inflation, and growing political terrorism, which concern all Turks. He warns that the government's foreign exchange reserves are low and that foreign banks have begun to call in old loans and refuse new ones.

In Iskenderun, teen-agers wearing denim shirts waved in wild enthusiasm as the bus pulled to finish work left unfinished by the Demirel government — like Iskenderun's big, Soviet-aided steel plant. Instead of promising to erase the past government's mistakes, he commits himself and the RPP to repair them.

Mr. and Mrs. Ecevit both speak of pleasant memories of their visits to U.S. cities like Boston and Winston-Salem, North Carolina, where Mr. Ecevit once worked for a local newspaper. Mr. Ecevit appears less concerned than Mr. Demirel about U.S. pressure on Turkey to make peace with Cyprus — pressure which President Carter now is trying to lighten by ending congressional arms embargo restrictions on Turkey.

Rejecting efforts by Mr. Demirel and the extremist parties of left and right to drag foreign-policy issues into the campaign, Mr. Ecevit sticks to the "big issues" — bread, democracy, and law and order. June 5 will tell how well the voters respond.

Africa

Southern Africa: after the talks — the credibility test

U.S. must show it means what Mondale, Young say

By Geoffrey Godsell
Overseas news editor of The Christian Science Monitor

The Carter administration's new activist policy in southern Africa now has to prove its credibility. This is the position in which the administration finds itself after a week of vigorous diplomacy.

Vice-President Walter Mondale met South African Prime Minister John Vorster in Vienna and found Mr. Vorster as hard as granite in resisting American suggestions that South Africa should soften its race policy of apartheid.

U.S. Ambassador to the UN Andrew Young, working at the other end of the African spectrum, refused to give American endorsement to the more militant resolutions voted by a UN conference on southern Africa in Maputo, Mozambique. These resolutions call for an arms embargo against South Africa and complete severance of all communications with white-run Rhodesia.

The net result of these two encounters in Vienna and Maputo is that the United States is left having to show that it means

what it says in: (1) insisting it "will not intervene to ease South Africa from the policies it is pursuing," as Mr. Mondale put it; and (2) arguing — as Mr. Young did at Maputo — that harsh resolutions would hamper current efforts to find a solution to the problems of Rhodesia and Namibia (South-West Africa).

Security Council signal

One of the earliest signs that the Carter administration might give of its continued commitment on southern Africa might be the withholding of the U.S. veto in the U.N. Security Council. This would amount to withdrawal of the American protection which South Africa has usually been given in the Council in the face of tough resolutions backed by African nationalists, third-world powers, and the Communist bloc.

Other possibilities are: the ending of sharing of intelligence by the U.S. and South African Governments; withdrawal of service attachés in the U.S. Embassy in Pretoria, the South African capital; indirectly putting restrictions on U.S. investments in South Africa; and introducing for South African visitors to the U.S. discriminatory policies such as the South Africans apply to U.S. citizens wanting to visit South Africa.

An indication of how much the U.S. will be on trial in black Africa came in a statement put out by the Black Peoples' Con-

vention (BPC) in South Africa critical of Ambassador Young as he arrived in Johannesburg from Maputo earlier this month. The BPC is widely considered the authentic voice of the younger generation of black nationalists in the country.

Its statement said in part: "As far as we are concerned, Young's visit will only be helpful if he has discussions with all the leaders who are regarded as such by the majority of our people." The main African-read newspaper, the World, took a different tack: it editorialized, "Andy, we love you."

Hate leaflets

From another source — believed to be hard-line whites — type-written slips fluttered down from high-rise buildings near Mr. Young's hotel. They read: "Young insults us. Kick him out." and "Hated Young is our enemy."

As for Prime Minister Vorster, he stayed on in Vienna after his meeting with Vice-President Mondale.

On May 21, Mr. Vorster conferred with South African ambassadors summoned from Europe and North America and reviewed with them the possible strains which might result from a tougher U.S. line toward South Africa.

On May 22, he conferred with the President of the Ivory Coast, Felix Houphouët-Boigny, one of the older generation of black African leaders and one who has in the past shown himself willing to break ranks openly with other African leaders and be seen to have dealings with South Africa. Mr. Houphouët-Boigny is also one of the French-speaking African leaders closest to France, South Africa's main Western supplier of weapons.

U.S. laxity on Rhodesia

Washington
A General Accounting Office study, made public May 22 by Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, sharply criticizes the government for failing to make sure American corporations and citizens comply with economic sanctions against Rhodesia.

"The record is clear that the United States has not been living up to its public commitments on enforcing sanctions against Rhodesia," Senator Kennedy said.

Vorster course

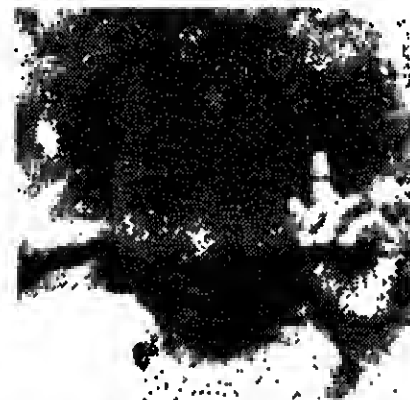
Mr. Vorster's policy all along has been to try to thwart the isolation which black Africa and much of the Western world tries to force on South Africa. He knows that if it were not for his government's race policies, South Africa could offer much that black Africa and the West would find helpful. So he follows a two-pronged course: advertising that potential helpfulness and resisting fiercely any pressure from outside on the question of South Africa's domestic policies.

This was obvious in his talks with Vice-President Mondale. He did not yield an inch on what he saw as U.S. interference in South African internal affairs. No U.S. involvement there. But he accepted U.S. regional involvement to the extent of hastening solutions in Rhodesia and Namibia and promised to cooperate with it.

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United States

President Carter cracks foreign-policy whip

By Daniel Southerland
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
Having emphasized a day earlier his determination to withdraw American troops from South Korea by reassigning an Army general who criticized this plan, President Carter gave a speech May 22 reaffirming U.S. foreign policy activism — not retreat from the world.

Among other things, Mr. Carter served notice on Israel that American policy in the Middle East will not be affected by the election victory of the hard-line Likud bloc in Israel's recent election.

"We will continue to promote a settlement which all of us need. Our own policy will not be affected by changes in leadership in any of the countries in the Middle East," the President said in a commencement address at Notre Dame University.

On May 21, the day before his speech, Mr. Carter recalled Maj. Gen. Jehn K. Singlaub from South Korea for publicly criticizing his plan to withdraw all U.S. ground forces from South Korea within the next four to five years.

General Singlaub, U.S. chief of staff in South Korea, had told the Washington Post in an interview that the withdrawal would be a mistake that would lead to war.

Mr. Carter is said to have been particularly upset by the criticism because it came just as he was about to send senior officials to South Korea to discuss the withdrawal policy and just as Secretary of State Cyrus Vance was beginning talks in Geneva with the Soviet Union on strategic arms limitations.

"This was not a time for the President to give the impression that his own generals were not in line," said a senior Defense Department official.

On the Middle East, the President said he expects Israel and its neighbors to continue to be bound by United Nations Resolutions 242 and 338, which call for a withdrawal of Israeli forces from the territories that Israel occupied in the 1967 war. Menachem Begin, leader of the Likud, opposes any withdrawal from the occupied territories, contending that they are actually "liberated" areas belonging to Israel.

"This may be the most propitious time for a genuine settlement since the beginning of the Arab-Israeli conflict," Mr. Carter declared in

his speech at Notre Dame. "To let this opportunity pass could mean disaster, not only for the Middle East, but perhaps for the international political and economic order as well."

But Mr. Begin, in an appearance May 22 on the ABC television program "Issues and Answers," offered no hope that he is budging even an inch from his hard-line position on a Middle East settlement. He spoke of members of the Palestine Liberation Organization as "killers" and declared that a Palestinian "homeland" such as President Carter has proposed could become a base for the Soviet Union.

The President advocated that the United States should take the lead in what he described as a trend toward greater assertion of human rights throughout the world. He restated the hope, first expressed in his inauguration address, that the United States would be able to take steps, together with other nations, toward complete elimination of nuclear weapons. He called on the United States "to inspire, and to persuade, and to lead" in the shaping of a new international system that would respond to "the new reality of a politically awakening world."

Turning to relations with the Russians, Mr. Carter declared that "I believe in détente with the Soviet Union." But he warned the Soviets that U.S. cooperation with them also implies obligations on their part.

"We hope the Soviet leaders will join us in efforts to stop the spread of nuclear explosives and to reduce sales of conventional arms," Mr. Carter declared.

"We hope to persuade the Soviet Union that one country cannot impose its own social system upon another, either through direct military intervention or through the use of a proxy state's military force — as with the Cuban intervention in Angola...."

"We hope that the Soviet Union will join in playing a larger role in aiding the developing world, for common aid efforts will help us build a bridge of mutual confidence."

The President said it is important that the United States make progress toward normalizing relations with China.

"We see the American-Chinese relationship as a central element of our global policy, and China as a key force for global peace," he declared.

How President Carter's legislation is faring

By Peter C. Stuart
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
Four months into his four-year term, President Jimmy Carter's legislative record in Congress has proved to be neither as stunning nor as disastrous as had been variously predicted.

There has been no 120-day outpouring of rubber-stamped initiatives from the Democratic White House by the heavily Democratic Congress. But, despite some rough patches, there also has been no outright stalemate between a stubborn Georgian President and increasingly independent lawmakers.

As the chill of January has given way to the brightness of May, the new President already has achieved several of his major legislative objectives. Others are moving steadily toward enactment. A substantial number of other Carter priorities, however, are running into early trouble.

The four-month record, on balance, seems close to Mr. Carter's own pre-election prediction of the combination of an "aggressive President" and "a strong and independent Congress."

The President already can chalk up victories on at least three major legislative issues high on his list of campaign promises:

- \$34.2 billion in tax cuts for individuals and businesses to stimulate the economy (scheduled to have been signed into law May 23).

- Creation of 150,000 to 300,000 new public works jobs to combat national unemployment (signed in early May).

- Authority to reorganize executive agencies, subject to veto by Congress (signed last month).

Other Carter "musts" are grinding toward passage in Capitol Hill. They include creation of a new Cabinet-level Department of Energy

consolidating widely scattered energy programs, as outlined in a bill approved by the full Senate and a House of Representatives committee.

Also advancing through the legislative mill is a Carter-backed clean air bill regulating pollution from car exhaust and smokestacks. It is expected to come to a vote in the House before May 28 and in the Senate a few days later.

But a handful of other presidentially endorsed programs — including a couple of Mr. Carter's own personal favorites — have encountered opposition much stronger and much sooner than the White House evidently anticipated. All are clearly in legislative danger.

The centerpiece of the administration's electoral reform program, a bill to permit voters to register at the polls on election day, has been postponed for action late in June. It was unceremoniously dropped recently from the House agenda to avert possible defeat.

A proposed relaxation of the Hatch Act to al-

low federal employees fuller participation in politics has suffered a similar 11th-hour postponement. The unforeseen opposition to the bill recalls the stunning defeat in March of another measure — widening construction-site picketing — which organized labor had expected to finally see enacted after years of being thwarted by Republican presidents.

The creation of an Agency for Consumer Protection, strongly supported by a President who takes pride in his own consumerism, is limping toward an uncertain House vote after squeaking through committee clearance by a 22 to 21 vote margin.

Key features of the President's top-priority energy conservation plan seem headed for legislative obscurity. Controversial elements such as the proposed standby gasoline tax and tax on "gas guzzling" new cars are believed likely to be revised beyond recognition, if not dropped altogether.

The risky way to transport uranium

By Clayton Jones
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
On a cold February night, three Pinkerton guards were on duty at the nation's busiest airport, Chicago's O'Hare. Their mission: to keep an eye on the largest shipment of highly enriched, nonmilitary uranium ever exported from the United States.

But they didn't always keep an eye on it. Unattended for a period of time in an unlocked shed, the 1,779 pounds of uranium were vulnerable to seizure by skilled terrorists for possible use in several atomic bombs.

However, no potential terrorist was around to steal the weapons-grade material. So, on the following morning of Feb. 9, 1977, all 52 steel drums of the material were safely loaded and flown on a Lufthansa cargo jet to West Germany for use in a power plant.

But this security slipup was not the end of it. When the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) learned of the incident, the agency reprimanded the shipper, Transnuclear, Inc., of White Plains, New York, for "deficiencies" in allowing the private guards to interrupt surveillance of the dangerous substance.

And reprimanding was not all the NRC did. The agency immediately beefed up security requirements so that four guards instead of three now are required on all shipments of "special strategic nuclear material."

That could have been the end of it — but the federal government has been fervidly trying to implement other safeguards on nuclear transport for the past two years — security steps which have not dissuaded dozens of local and state officials from regulating or restricting shipments of radioactive materials through their areas.

The NRC, however, is also trying to stop nuclear transport bills from passing in several state legislatures. In Illinois, Gerald Day, director of the state's commission on atomic energy, says "the NRC just doesn't have the people to enforce federal laws."

SUW, from New York City to Rocky Flats, Colorado, officials

are showing greater concern over the fact that more than 2 million packages of radioactive materials — half of them considered too harmless to regulate — are flown, trucked, railed, and barged nationwide each year.

Some 15,000 shippers are under tight regulations from the NRC and Department of Transportation. However, a few highly publicized incidents of lax security and spills have led to six states passing (and 12 more considering) laws to keep track of, regulate, or even ban shipments.

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Israel's defeated Labor Party still has political clout

By Harry B. Ellis
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
A strategy for containing the threat posed by the hard-line Israeli Likud political bloc, led by Menachem Begin, is beginning to emerge. This strategy calls for the still-powerful Labor Party, acting as "constructive opposition" in the Knesset (Parliament), to long involved in Middle East negotiations to present realistic alternatives to extreme positions staked out by a Likud-led Israeli Government.

A Likud proposal, for example, to annex the West Bank — or refusal to cede an inch of Arab territory seized in 1967 — would be countered by Labor Party readiness to give up some land in return for genuine peace with Israel's Arab neighbors.

Mr. Begin, meanwhile — in an effort to broaden his prospective coalition government — says he would not act unilaterally to annex the West Bank and Gaza, although, he contends, Israel law would give him the right to do so.

The statement was aimed at inducing the Democratic Movement for Change — a new party which favors some territorial concessions to return for peace — to join a Likud-formed government.

If the new group, led by Yigal Yadin, joins the government, said a well-placed source, Likud's extreme approach would be somewhat blunted. But if the Democratic Movement for Change decides, like the Labor Party, to join the opposition, Mr. Begin's ultimate coalition would lack a moderating voice.

The anti-Likud strategy now emerging, said a source in close touch with the situation, is based on the conviction, shared by officials in Washington and Jerusalem, that a majority of Israelis accept the need for compromise, if a new Arab-Israeli war is to be avoided.

This approach, according to well-informed sources, is based on the conviction, shared by many officials in Washington and Jerusalem, that a majority of Israelis accept the need for compromise, if a new Arab-Israeli war is to be avoided.

Other factors lie behind the strategy:

- Many Likud voters, it is thought, voted not so much for Mr. Begin's adamant foreign policy as against the scandal-ridden Labor Party, under whose tutelage Israel's inflation has soared above 30 percent.

- Many Oriental Jews — settlers from Morocco, Yemen, Iraq, and other Arab countries — may have voted for Likud in the hope of enlarging their role in Israel's political, social, and economic life, long dominated by European Jews.

- If a Likud government is unable to improve Israel's economic situation or to satisfy Oriental Jewish aspirations — and if Mr. Begin's foreign policy alienates the United States — the reasoning goes, Israeli opposition to Likud will grow.

In that case Mr. Begin or some other prime minister nominated by Likud would be unable to impose an unyielding foreign policy upon the Knesset, in which Likud's majority would be razor-thin at best.

President Carter is expected to tell the next Israeli Prime Minister that the United States expects Israel to adhere to UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, passed respectively after the 1967 and 1973 Arab-Israeli wars.

Those resolutions, in essence, call for substantial Israeli withdrawal from Arab lands seized in 1967 in return for Israel's right to live in peace within "secure and recognized boundaries."

Mr. Carter is expected in his current discussions with Saudi Crown Prince Fahd to urge patience on Arab leaders as the United States strives to exert a moderating influence on Israel.

Prince Fahd, during his talks with Mr. Carter, stressed the need for a Palestinian homeland, praised the President for recognizing this

fact, and warned of a "disastrous" war if peace efforts fail.

All sides recognize the fragility of the situation and the risks involved, particularly since Geneva peace talks — sought by Arab governments — are unlikely to be convened this year.

Much depends, officials say, on the ability of the United States, the Israeli Labor Party and its Knesset allies, and Arab kings and presidents to keep the situation stable until mere moderate opinion in Israel has a chance to regain control.

'After permissiveness': Salkowski articles honored

Charlotte Salkowski, chief editorial writer of The Christian Science Monitor, has received a first place community service award in the 1977 Clarion Competition sponsored by Women in Communications, Inc. Miss Salkowski was cited for a Monitor series entitled "After Permissiveness What?" The eight articles, appearing in a supplement on May 24, 1976, explored the state of morality in American society.



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Soviet Union

Tensions stretch along Sino-Soviet border

By John Dillin
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Soviet efforts to improve relations with its populous neighbor, China, have failed miserably. And even greater animosity appears to be developing between the two communist giants, in the view of analysts here. Russian concerns about what they regard as the "yellow peril" again are being heightened.

Latest evidence of the failure of Soviet diplomacy in Peking was the recent article in the Communist Party newspaper Pravda, which charged that China was preparing for an even-

tual war against both the Soviet Union and the West.

The Pravda blast came at the conclusion of a series of abortive Soviet attempts to wipe away some of the bitterness of the Mao years, when Soviet-Chinese relations plummeted to new lows.

Behind these Soviet efforts for better relations, analysts say, were genuine fears that the Chinese pose a serious, long-term threat to Soviet territory.

Soviet strategists are concerned that in the near future the United States, Japan, or Western Europe will try to play off the Chinese against the Soviet Union by providing Peking

with industrial, technological, and military aid. Aid of that kind, the Soviets believe, eventually could be used against Soviet forces in the vast, often frigid region that reaches 3,000 miles from Vladivostok in the east to Tadzhiik S.S.R. in the west.

Powerful military forces are lined up on either side of that border.

In China, more than one million troops are deployed in "defensive" positions well back from the border where they would be in a better position to absorb a Soviet thrust. One report indicated Chinese forces consist of 75 regular divisions, 22 militia divisions, and 36 independent regiments.

The Soviets, with approximately 800,000 men, are very close to the border — a necessity in many instances because the Trans-Siberian Railroad lies close to Chinese territory.

Neither side currently has the manpower in place for a quick, successful strike at the other. But each continues to dig in, to improve its supply status, and, in the case of the Soviets, to improve its weaponry.

The newest Soviet propaganda attack is seen by some analysts as an effort to regain the upper hand in its relations with China. Several elements have been moving against the Soviets in recent months.

Prior to the passing of Communist Chinese Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the Soviets had given up in their relations with the Chinese. The situ-

ation was regarded as hopeless. For their part, the Chinese viewed the Soviets as dangerous expansionist and as unresponsive to the Communist cause.

When Chairman Mao passed from the scene in 1976, the Soviets quickly initiated new efforts for better relations. They were repeated.

Meanwhile, other trends in Sino-Soviet relations worsened, from Moscow's viewpoint. Chinese military power, especially in clear arsenal, presents a growing threat. Nov. 17, 1976, the Chinese exploded a megaton device, their biggest yet. Chinese missiles continue to improve in range and accuracy, and now represent at least a tactical capability as far west as Moscow.

Japan, whose mammoth industrial machine could provide critical assistance to the Chinese military machine, continues to have poor relations with the Soviets because of a dispute on the Kurile Islands seized during World War II.

Vietnam, which received aid from both the Soviets and Chinese during the recent war, gives indications of being "soft" on the Chinese brand of communism.

Rumors persist, meanwhile, that the United States could be on the verge of arms sales to the Chinese — a development which could have a significant effect on the balance of Sino-Soviet power. But the rumors appear to have no foundation, informed sources say.

Ivan jizzes up his auto

By David K. Willis
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Yerevan, U.S.S.R.
As the white station wagon cruised the streets, soft music from a specially installed tape deck playing through four quadraphonic speakers enfolded the passengers.

Seat covers were a plush red, with inserts of dark-brown fur on seat backs and on the seats themselves. The wagon was spotless inside and out.

It might have been the corner of Hollywood and Vine in Los Angeles. . . . But it was Lenin Square in Yerevan, Soviet Armenia, across from the Ararat restaurant and hard by the Council of Ministers Building.

Unusual for the Soviet Union? Yes — but the quadraphonic speakers also indicate what seems to be a growing malady here: customizing cars.

It is the latest manifestation of the advancing auto age in the Soviet Union (1,239,000 passenger cars rolled from assembly lines last year). More and more cars are sporting touches of personal decoration — signs of individualism in this country of collectivism.

A week's travel in Soviet Armenia and Soviet Georgia turned up these examples on the streets of Yerevan, Tbilisi, and in between:

- A nice line in decorated hubcaps.
- Decorated gear-lever handles. The standard-issue black plastic top is replaced with a variety of wooden or plastic models.

Very often clear plastic encloses red, yellow, or green flower designs or butterfly wings. One handle in Yerevan (where the influence of the

Armenian church remains strong) even contained a picture of Jesus and Mary.

- Steering wheels often decorated with imitation leather covers, many with racing-type holes in them and metal snap-fasteners every few inches.

- Windshield wiper arms with red plastic squares. Each arm has three disks, which serve no ascertainable purpose other than decoration. "Well, you see," began one Georgian driver when asked about them. Then he smiled and shrugged. "We just like to dress up our cars," he said.

- Long whip radio antennas, encased in red, yellow, green, or blue plastic, and bent back to a fastening behind rear windows.
- Special floor coverings of brown plastic that also encase floor-mounted gear levers right up to the handle. One car has a sleeve of white fur covering its wheel-mounted gear lever.

- Black racing stripes on car hoods.
- Wire spokes designed to ease parking by scraping against curbs before wheels hit them.

The customizing trend is far more noticeable in sunny southern Yerevan and Tbilisi than in more strictly controlled Moscow. But designs of colored plastic string appear in rear windows even in Moscow, as do some other personal touches.

Car buying is still difficult here. Prospective owners may have to wait several years. Prices are very high — about \$10,000 for a small Zhiguli, for instance. (Salaries average about \$200 a month.) Difficulties continue in maintenance and repair. The black-market trade in spare parts is brisk.



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Soviet Union

Young villagers grow bored in Soviet cities

By a staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow
The tide of young people rolls in from the countryside to the cities every Sunday afternoon, young girls mostly, ready for a week's work in factories and offices.

They sleep in dormitories and make reasonable wages. They see movies, read novels, watch television.

But on Friday afternoons, they take the bus home again to their villages to spend the weekend on the farm. They are trying to escape the boredom of the city — yet they are too bored with the countryside to live there all the time.

Soviet officials are looking for answers to their restlessness, their dissatisfaction.

The problem is by no means a small one. Young people leaving the countryside for fame and fortune in the big city form the backbone of many a city's work force in this still largely rural country.

Who operates factory machine tools, who clerks in city stores, who drives city buses? asks noted Soviet demographer Viktor Perevedentsev in a recent issue of Soviet Culture, a triweekly publication of the Communist Party Central Committee in Moscow.

His answer: former villagers. Among urban adults, natives of rural areas clearly predominate, he writes.

They come into the city between the ages of 15 and 25. Many girls go at the age of 15 after finishing the eighth grade in Soviet schools. Boys stay in the countryside until called up for military service, but they now are re-emerging into civilian life at age 20, Soviet studios show. They tend to follow their friends to the city.

Jobs are readily available in most cities be-

cause of acute labor shortages. There is much more to do after work than in a village, where everyone knows everyone else and routine is unvarying.

But recent articles in the Soviet press suggest that many of the young country people find the cities equally dull after the first adventure of discovery.

Soviet Culture sent a woman reporter to the city of Kursk, not far from Moscow. She found the local knitwear combine employing many girls from the countryside who lived in dormitories during the week. They earned about 140 rubles (about \$181) a month — good money for a young person here. But they also were homesick for their villages.

They were uninterested in city theaters, museums, lectures, clubs.

Everything that used to fill their lives — home, family, closeness to the land and to nature, accustomed personal relationships — has disappeared from their lives, but they have not yet found new spiritual values, the reporter wrote.

Demographer Perevedentsev recognizes the problem. As a rule, he says, young village people are more mature than their counterparts in the cities. They are more self-reliant, more stable.

But without a taste for the kind of pursuits cities can offer — classical music, painting, ballet — these young people tend to find city routine as uninteresting as the countryside they want to leave, he goes on. They are alone in a crowd. They go home at weekends for solace, but they keep going back during the week.

Millions of rural-to-urban residents are just like this, Mr. Perevedentsev writes, neither ur-



By Stewart Dill McBride

Moscow: restless youth in the big city

ban nor rural, but . . . marginal. Many of them will end up living in the cities. But how can they be helped to adapt to the city?

At present neither Mr. Perevedentsev nor other demographers appear to have answers, apart from proper recognition and study of the problem.

In the Ukraine, party and government authorities have been building new halls and clubrooms and improving other rural amenities to try to keep people from migrating to the cities. Some areas claim considerable success.

In Soviet Central Asia, birthrates are still

high (although they have been falling elsewhere). Migration to the cities is expected to increase sharply. Yet, in Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, and other Central Asian regions, the differences between country and city are even more marked than in the European parts of the Soviet Union.

The question is whether the differences can be bridged quickly enough to prevent mass returns to the countryside (thus causing more labor shortages in cities) or before restlessness and disaffection might lead to other social problems.

Haste spoils oil

By a staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

The Soviets, world's largest oil producers, have rapidly increased output since World War II by using "forced draft" methods. But those methods, which include injection of massive amounts of water into oil-bearing formations, have caused serious damage to some of their finest fields, according to new information released by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

Soviet oil output, as a result, will drop suddenly and sharply within the next four years, the CIA predicts. The drop will send economic shock waves through both the Soviet and international oil markets.

Soviet oil problems were first brought to light by the CIA in a recent declassified report. In hearings before House subcommittee April 25, CIA director Stansfield Turner elaborated on some of the reasons behind those dire predictions:

1. Existing wells have been overproduced. Large amounts of water have been injected into the ground to increase pressure. The result was short-term growth in output. But in the long run, less oil will be recovered, and that falling-off now has begun.

2. Soviet oilmen have concentrated on drilling new wells into old fields, rather than searching for new fields.

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Can the nuclear proliferation race be stopped?

By Richard L. Strout
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

The strategic arms limitation talks (SALT) between the United States and the Soviet Union may be the last chance to prevent the world from "going nuclear."

That is the thrust of testimony given over past weeks before the Senate committee on antiproliferation and chaired by former astronaut and committee chairman Sen. John H. Glenn (D) of Ohio.

At least five nations have nuclear bombs, a score of others may have them almost overnight, and India has already gone so far as to explode a "nuclear device."

Proliferation is linked to SALT because the two superpowers now bargaining at Geneva promised in the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) of March 5, 1970, to make good-faith efforts toward nuclear disarmament.

NPT is regarded by many as the thin thread still restraining many nations from acquiring nuclear weapons.

The U.S. and Soviets, contrary to hopes embodied in the treaty, have piled up hydrogen bombs to the frustration of many treaty signatories. Some apparently regard the drive to nuclear armament as almost inextinguishable, and the present Geneva meeting as the last chance.

President Ford's and President Carter's sudden, unexpected, and spectacular decisions to shelve nuclear fast-breeder reactors — which

produce the plutonium from which nuclear weapons can be made — indicate these men recognize the gravity of the situation.

The action leaves the commercial industry reeling and suspends billions of dollars worth of projects.

President Ford downgraded emphasis on plutonium processing Oct. 28, just before the 1976 election.

President Carter followed this up with a statement April 7 and a message to Congress, April 27.

"This need to halt nuclear proliferation is one of mankind's most pressing challenges," he said.

He proposed legislation to Congress, which the Glenn committee is now considering, along with measures of its own.

Cross examination indicates the urgency of the world situation.

"Only three nuclear-weapons states have signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty," Senator Glenn warns.

"Nearly half of all nonweapons states have not signed the NPT."

"This number of nonweapons states indicating a desire or a potential for obtaining pure plutonium processing plants is growing."

"By the year 2000 the world may be producing enough plutonium in power reactors for 200,000 bombs per year."

The technical nature of the subject has dampened public discussion.

As U.S.-Soviets talk others race to get reactors

By Robert M. Press
Staff writer of
The Christian Science Monitor

As Soviet and U.S. negotiators were seeking ways in Geneva to scale down the arms race, another race was under way that could lead to a further spread of nuclear weapons.

It is the race toward more nuclear reactors, which, in the opinion of some experts, moves the countries obtaining such facilities, much closer to being able to build nuclear bombs.

At least 15 nations already have nuclear power reactors and at least 10 others are either building them or have ordered them, according to a study financed by the Ford Foundation and administered by the MITRE Corporation.

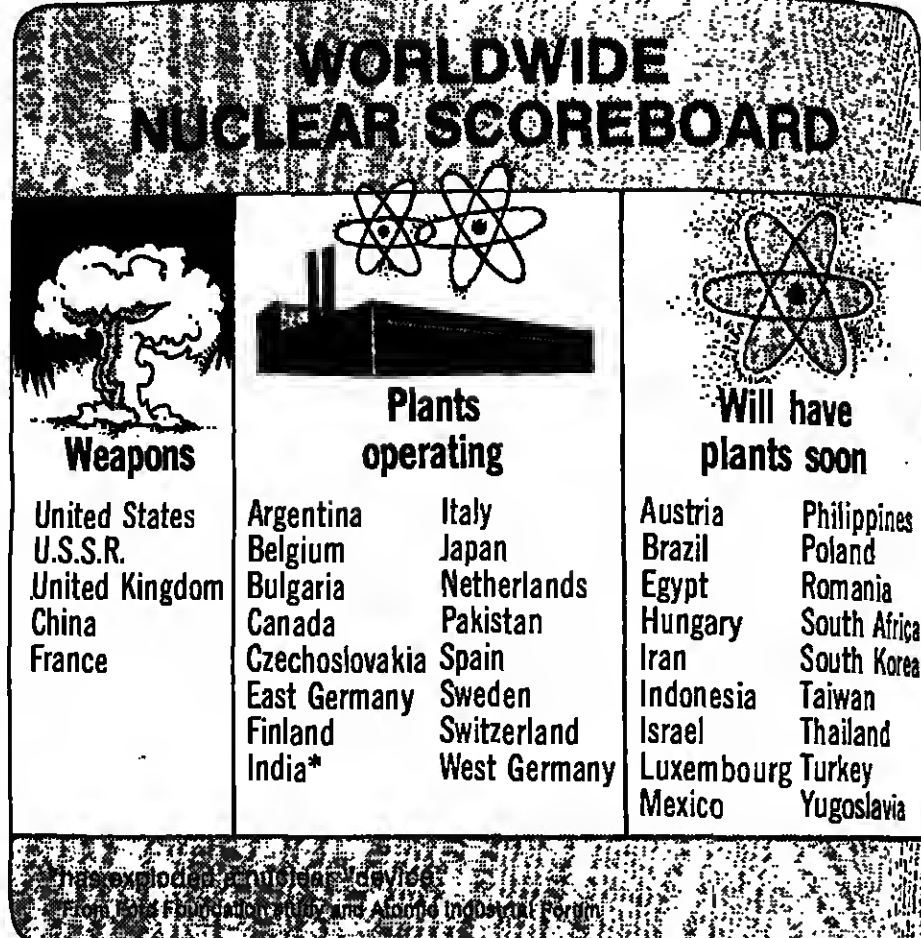
In addition, Finland now has a reactor and Thailand, Indonesia, and Turkey are planning

to obtain them, says the Atomic Industrial Forum.

Nuclear reactors by themselves pose no major threat to world security, says Tom Neff, senior staff member of the Ford Foundation-financed study team, which included several current top aides of President Carter, including Secretary of Defense Harold Brown. But if nations with reactors also build plants to reprocess the uranium used as fuel in the reactors (to stretch fuel supplies), they will, in the process, produce plutonium which can be used in nuclear bombs, he explains.

Then, all it takes is "a sudden change of will" for the country to plunge into the business of making a nuclear bomb, says Dr. Neff.

Depending on how far a country has developed its reprocessing facilities and other technical skills, the country could produce a nu-



clear bomb "within a few weeks to a few years" of a decision to do so, he says.

Success in the strategic arms limitation talks (SALT) would put the United States in a "stronger moral position" in arguing for a limitation on the spread of nuclear weapons, says Dr. Neff.

When the study, entitled Nuclear Power: Issues and Answers, was issued in late March, most public attention given it focused on its recommendations for U.S. domestic policies.

But, with SALT talks under way again, the study's recommendations on U.S. foreign policies are timely.

Some key recommendations for curbing nuclear proliferation are:

- Fulfill U.S. security guarantees to "insecure states" such as South Korea, Taiwan, and Israel.
- Help other nations develop a broad range

of energy sources to reduce their perceived need for "excessive reliance" on nuclear power.

• Help other nations with reactors get enriched uranium fuel and thus reduce their desire for reprocessing plants.

The study estimates world supplies of uranium are sufficient to last through this century, giving the U.S. and other nations time to develop more fully other fuels and other less potentially dangerous ways of using uranium in reactors. President Carter already has called for a re-examination by the U.S. and other nations of the ways nuclear fuel is used.

Two of the study's other authors picked in key jobs by Mr. Carter are Joseph S. Nye, deputy to the undersecretary of state for security assistance, and Spurgeon M. Keeny Jr., chairman of the study group, recently named deputy chief of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

Israel's rampant inflation: 'desperate but not serious'

By Norman Sklarewitz
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Tel Aviv, Israel
Pasted atop his meter, a taxi driver here has a hand-scratched notice. It advises his passengers that they are to pay 40 percent over whatever the meter shows. Another cab company supplies its drivers with a table that has the increases already worked out.

With prices continually going up here, it obviously doesn't pay to have the meters permanently readjusted.

Bill-of-fare boards in small restaurants and coffeehouses along Ben Yehuda Street and the bustling Dizengoff area well worn from having pieces of paper with new prices regularly pasted on them, then replaced.

While they acknowledge their country's runaway inflation with loud and continual grumbling, Israelis also accept it and, in the opinion of some outsiders, are too casual about the sorry state of the economy.

"The situation is desperate but not serious," is the way a diplomat paraphrases the Israeli view of economic conditions. "The government has no sound economic plans and no one even promises action; they expect to somehow muddle through."

The people of Israel may not really be all that sanguine. But with terrorists and frontier attacks also subjects of concern, they are inclined to worry more about security than economics.

Still, outsiders tend to shake their heads in near-disbelief at the shape the country is in economically.

Inflation is still rampant. Last year it hit 38 percent after the government had predicted the rate would be held to "only" 25 percent. That's about where it had been in 1975 after hitting a staggering 58 percent in 1974. And for this year, the government hopes to keep the inflation rate at 25 percent. But most experts are not so optimistic and talk about at least a 30 percent hike.

Foreign exchange cross-rates

By reading across this table of last Tuesday's mid-day inter-bank foreign exchange rates, one can find the value of the major currencies in the national currencies of each of the following financial centers. These rates do not take into account bank service charges. (c) = commercial rate.

| | U.S. | British | West German | French | Dutch | Belgian | Swiss |
|-------------|---------|---------|-------------|--------|---------|---------|--------|
| | Dollar | Pound | Mark | Franc | Guilder | Franc | Franc |
| New York | 1.0000 | 1.7171 | 2.421 | 2017 | 4060 | 0.7799 | 3.968 |
| London | .5824 | 1.0000 | 1.421 | 1.175 | 2.364 | 0.1613 | 2.311 |
| Frankfurt | 2.3635 | 4.0584 | 1.0000 | 1.476 | 2.958 | 0.6545 | 3.278 |
| Paris | 4.9379 | 8.5121 | 2.0180 | 1.0000 | 2.0129 | 1.3328 | 1.953 |
| Amsterdam | 2.4631 | 4.2753 | 1.0421 | 4.968 | 1.0000 | 0.6820 | 3.773 |
| Roselle (c) | 36.1000 | 61.9914 | 15.2478 | 7.2819 | 14.6576 | — | 14.354 |
| Zurich | 2.5202 | 4.3274 | 1.0663 | 5.083 | 1.0232 | 0.6810 | — |

The following are U.S. dollar values only: Argentine peso: .0027; Australian dollar: 1.1034; Danish krone: 1.881; Italian lire: .001128; Japanese yen: .003587; New Zealand dollar: .8815; South African rand: 1.1512.

Source: First National Bank of Boston, Boston

Pensioners and those with bank savings have been particularly hard hit. That is one reason Israelis tend not to save much money these days. Curiously, many wage increases have kept up with the skyrocketing costs of living. One reason is that the national labor organization Histadrut, the General Federation of Labor, is also the country's largest owner of economic enterprises and employs 22 percent of the country's work force. So as employer it can hardly refuse demands it makes to itself as a hard-driving union.

Dvaluations adopted

In an effort to help keep Israel's exports competitive in the world marketplace and to help cope with inflation, the government has adopted a series of currency devaluations. As a result, banks now post the daily fluctuations in the value of the Israeli pound against other major currencies. The drop in value of the Israeli pound against the U.S. dollar has been more than 120 percent since November, 1974. For years, Israel accepted some inflation as the price for economic growth and indeed the economy did advance by as much as 10 percent for a number of years in a row. But growth has virtually stopped; real GNP (gross national product, the total output of goods and services) grew just a shade over 1 percent, the second year in a row at that low level.

The dramatic increase in the price of oil, general world inflation, the huge cost of arms imported after the 1973 October war, and the protracted "war of attrition" in the Sinai Desert and on the Golan Heights all combined to push Israel off the deep end financially.

An enormous government deficit of \$11 billion was recorded last year, related almost entirely to defense spending. Considering that the Israelis now are spending about 30 percent of

the national budget for defense, this is hardly a surprise.

Red ink showed up just as vividly in the country's balance-of-payments account. From past deficits of perhaps \$1 billion, the deficit one recent year hit \$4 billion and last year was still at \$3.2 billion.

More than at any time in the past, U.S. aid is playing a major part in Israel's economy. In the 1976 fiscal year, American assistance amounted to more than \$2.3 billion, highest of any year. Aid records don't include some \$2.2 billion in emergency military aid rushed out following the surprise attack by Egypt and Syria in October, 1973.

For the present fiscal year, Israel is asking the United States for close to last year's aid level. It would include about \$1 billion in military assistance.

West Germans help

The only other country making major contributions to Israel is West Germany, which provides some \$300 million each year in the form of pensions to Jews who were victims of Nazi persecution and now live in Israel. Another \$50 million in long-term loans is made by the Bonn government.

The country has, of course, export earnings. These amounted to about \$4.8 billion last year, with tourism, shipping, and airline operations contributing to hard currency earnings. In addition, Israel can look to raising perhaps \$300 million a year in gifts from overseas contributors and another \$300 million through the sale of bonds.

"Israel had hoped to reduce its balance-of-payments deficit to zero by 1981 and perhaps end the need for American economic assistance," comments one expert here. "But after what happened to the economy last year, it doesn't stand a chance."

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In many European countries workers have a say in industrial management. American unions have traditionally resisted this largely efficient partnership. As the industrial race tightens, unions may hold the key to future growth.

By Harry B. Ellis

Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Stockholm
In many countries of Europe, but distinctly not in the United States, workers are demanding, and getting, a larger voice in the decisionmaking process that makes their companies run.

In West Germany, where Mitbestimmung, or co-determination, has progressed furthest, workers make up today between one-third and one-half of the boards of directors of sizable firms. And the system is being extended to provide parity between workers and owners in director numbers, although not in power.

A new law in Sweden "tilts the balance to unions," says Karl Olof Faxen of the Swedish Employers Confederation, in bargaining over how jobs should be organized on the shop floor, when vacations should be taken, and other personnel decisions formerly reserved for management.

Swedes hotly debate the controversial Meldnar Plan, named for its author, economist Rudolf Meldnar. The plan, if it became law, eventually would transfer ownership of much of Swedish industry to central trade union funds.

Workers in Austria, Holland, France, Norway, Denmark, Ireland, and other countries also share, in varying degrees, responsibility for running corporate enterprises.

Results called exaggerated

Economically, some of these nations are more successful than others. So the question arises: To what extent does worker participation contribute to economic well-being?

"Take West Germany and the United States," replied Bill Robinson, a senior planning official at the European Community in Brussels. "Both have achieved about the same standard of living. Yet Germany has very active Mitbestimmung, the United States has none."

Is the U.S. losing the industrial race?

Second of two articles

A cross section of industrialized economies suggests, to Mr. Robinson, that "worker participation can be exaggerated as a contributor to growth."

"Volkswagen," said Werner Menden of West Germany's Ministry for Research and Technology, "has Mitbestimmung. Is its performance different from Ford and General Motors [in Germany], which do not?"

[Under a new law Ford and GM plants in Germany are subject to parity Mitbestimmung, but were not at the time of which Dr. Menden spoke.]

"I would say," he continued, "that the quick and easy way in which Ford and Opel [the name of GM in Germany] adjusted to changing market conditions was probably better than that of Volkswagen," whose decisionmaking process involved both management and unions.

Dr. Menden nonetheless finds advantages to Mitbestimmung. "During the recent recession," he said, "Volkswagen was forced to fire 30,000 workers. My guess is that this process was cumbersome and delayed, because of Mitbestimmung." But, he added, the system allowed "a broad-based, courageous decision," important to the company's future, to be taken with union participation.

Dietrich Kurth of Bonn's Economics Ministry agrees. "The advantages of social peace [through co-determination]," he says, "outweigh the disadvantages of the more complicated decisionmaking process."

AFL-CIO sees little promise

In the United States, the powerful AFL-CIO will have none of co-determination. "We've watched co-determination and its offshoot experiments with interest," says Thomas R. Donahue, executive assistant to AFL-CIO president George Meany, "and will continue to do so. But it is our judgment that it offers little to American unions. . . . We do not seek to be a partner in management - to be, most likely, the junior partner in success and the senior partner in failure."

Mr. Donahue and other union officials speak of an "adversary relationship" between management and labor, which they do not want to see blurred, or "fuzzed over," by co-determination.

"This approach," says Douglas Fraser, head of the Chrysler unit of the United Automobile Workers (UAW),

"stems from the traditional American worker's view, the company's right to manage, the union's right to criticize."

Irving Bluestone, vice-president and director of the UAW at giant General Motors, has a slightly different view. "The immediate interest of the U.S. worker," he says, "is in his workplace." Hence the emphasis now is on "managing the job" at shop level.

"When the U.S. worker eventually realizes how important the decisionmaking process of the top level is to him at the job level," predicts Mr. Bluestone, "he will press for that, too." But, like Messrs. Donahue and Fraser, Mr. Bluestone sees little prospect of that happening soon.

The degree of unionization is lower in the United States. Roughly 25 percent of American workers belong to unions, compared with 40 percent in West Germany, nearly 50 percent in Britain, and 80 percent in Sweden.

Nonunion workers, experience shows, tend to be more susceptible to "job enrichment" programs advanced by management. Although these may improve the quality of living at the workplace, they have few, if any, decision-sharing features at the board level.

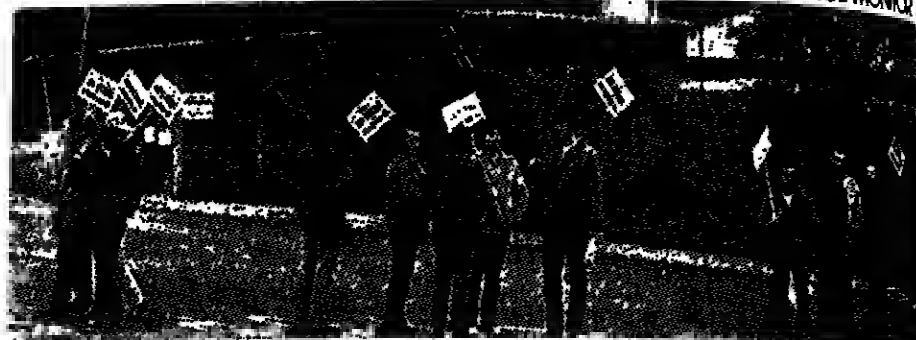
Union structure is much more centralized in Europe. Collective bargaining usually is not done at the local plant level, but by a central union authority for an entire industry.

"In the U.S.," says Jerome M. Rosow, president of the Work in America Institute, "collective bargaining is much more participatory at the local level than in Europe."

Because of this, he feels, the relationship between American workers and management at the shop level often is more advanced than in Europe.

"In Europe," says Mr. Bluestone, "unions [in addition to being more centralized] are far more politically inclined than in the United States. They affiliate with [political] parties, notably the Social Democrats, so collective bargaining moved more into the legislative arena."

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR



Worker participation

United Kingdom

The Bullock Committee of Inquiry on Industrial Democracy recommended in its report Jan. 26 that British company law be changed to require 750 private companies with more than 2,000 employees to have workers on their boards. If a majority of all workers (union and nonunion) approve of worker participation, candidate worker directors would then be nominated and elected by the unions.

Worker directors would be equal in number to shareholder directors. The two groups would elect a third but smaller group of independent directors. The chairman of the board would come from the shareholder directors and hold a tie-breaking vote.

At present, employees have considerable voice in British corporations through workers councils and their trade unions.

West Germany

A new law provides for equal worker-management representation on the boards of West Germany's largest companies. The chairman must be elected by two-thirds of the board. If that is impossible, he is elected by the shareholders' directors. The law also has the tie-breaking vote.

German employees (union and nonunion) also elect at plant level a workers' council wherever there are more than five employees. These councils must agree to hiring, firing, promotion, job allocation, and transfer.

A study by Smith Barney Harris Upham & Co. maintains that worker participation in West Germany "has tended to encourage management-labor cooperation, making unusually peaceful labor relations more effective."

Italy

Worker-director legislation does not exist and the unions are concerned that collective bargaining power might be compromised.

Worker councils do exist and are increasingly influential on companies' policies, particularly for public-sector companies. The Smith Barney study forecasts an increase in the unions' collective bargaining powers.

France

A draft bill would require a percentage of the workforce to be elected to the board of directors of companies with more than 100 employees. The law would also require the election of a workers' council in companies with more than 50 employees.

Since 1977, a workers' council has been elected in 100 out of 1,000 companies with more than 50 employees, according to the Smith Barney study.

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Westminster Abbey, in its 10th century



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B1



British Information Services

Trooping the Colour

Queen Elizabeth II: continuity amid change

By Joseph C. Harsch

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

The first 25 years of Queen Elizabeth II's reign have been almost diametrically opposite from what most people living in the British Isles on the day of her coronation had expected.

If you go back and thumb through British newspapers and popular magazines of that time you will find a broad romantic indulgence in the idea that the new reign would usher in another era of greatness for Britain. People dreamed of a second "Gloriana" who would once again lead them out of the doldrums into a new era of pride and power in the world as did the first Elizabeth.

Sadly for the people of Britain, yet a better thing for the Queen and for the institution she embodies, things have not worked out as expected when Elizabeth acceded to the throne on February 6, 1952.

The Queen's role would have been minor and might have become perfunctory and perhaps even perisolvably redundant had those first 25 years been a free ride on an upward tide of British success. There has been no upward tide and no free ride. Elizabeth's important and demanding role has been to sustain the hope and the self-esteem of the British people through an appalling series of disappointments, mistakes, failures, and contractions of power and influence.

Largely - and sometimes almost wholly - thanks to her and to her family, Britain is still today widely seen in terms of past glories and future possibilities rather than in terms of present economic difficulties. Travel and jubilee festivities this summer are straining not the achievements of British industry and commerce, but the color of the British monarchy. Without her and without

the monarchy, how many visitors now in Britain would be spending their money elsewhere this summer?

In the schoolboy notebook of Queen Elizabeth's grandfather, King George V, was found a paraphrase from the writings of that eminent Victorian economist Walter Bagehot. "The existence of the crown," he wrote, "serves to disguise change and therefore to deprive it of the evil consequences of revolution."

Her grandfather did apply that precept during the 1926 General Strike. He did his best to restrain his government from using force against the strikers. Earlier he had tried to mitigate the behavior of the "Black and Tans" in Ireland. In Elizabeth's own time the problem has no longer been the management of the kind of change Bagehot had in mind and her grandfather faced.

The time has passed when the sovereign would have occasion to restrain ministers from violence against British people. There is no inclination toward either violent revolution or civil war in the United Kingdom today. But during Queen Elizabeth's first 25 years there has been the painful process of contraction of empire, industrial disappointment, economic mismanagement, and political weakness.

Bagehot and King George V could be rewritten for these times. In terms of Queen Elizabeth's problems, the lesson could read:

"The existence of the crown serves to disguise change and therefore to deprive it of the damage of sudden disaster and loss of perspective."

Queen Elizabeth II has done just that for 25 busy years. She has set an example of calm, courage, and steadiness in the face of disaster, disappointment, whatever goes wrong; she is there to help sort things out, pick up the pieces, keep the system working.

There is the occasional republican in British public life, mostly for ideological rather than practical reasons. But there is less republicanism in Britain today than there was in Queen Victoria's time, less probably than at any time since the Restoration of King Charles II in 1688. There is less because in Queen Elizabeth II the British people have had something they needed more than she needed them. They have done little for her. She has done a lot for them.

Her reign started out with one auspicious event. As the crowds waited in dampness outside Westminster Abbey on coronation morning the news came through that a British team had reached the summit of Mt. Everest, the first time ever that any human had climbed to the top of the world's highest mountain. But there have been few equally splendid reasons for British pride since that day.

The past 25 years in industry have seen the British make one splendid beginning after another, and never manage to carry it through to real success. At the time of the coronation, British industry produced most of the bicycles and motorcycles sold on the American market. The British sports car was the envy of the younger generation everywhere. And the Comet airplane promised to take the world lead in aviation.

But the bicycle market is gone. Japanese motorcycles have taken over the roads, even in Britain itself. The British sports car survives, but barely. Germans, Italians, French, and of course Japanese, have taken over much of the market.

Characteristic of what has happened to British industry is the current story of the STOL (short takeoff and landing plane). The British firm of Hawker Siddeley pioneered the STOL and its variation called the V-STOL.

Please turn to Page 20

Britain's sovereigns



King Charles I



Queen Mary I



King George III

| | |
|---------------------------------------|----------------|
| William I..... | 1066-1087 |
| William II..... | 1087-1100 |
| Henry I..... | 1100-1135 |
| Stephen..... | 1135-1154 |
| Henry II..... | 1154-1189 |
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| John..... | 1199-1216 |
| Henry III..... | 1216-1272 |
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| Commonwealth Interregnum 1649-1659 | |
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| George IV..... | 1820-1830 |
| William IV..... | 1830-1837 |
| Victoria..... | 1837-1901 |
| Edward VII..... | 1901-1910 |
| George V..... | 1910-1936 |
| Edward VIII..... | 1936 |
| George VI..... | 1936-1952 |
| Elizabeth II..... | Succeeded 1952 |



King Henry V

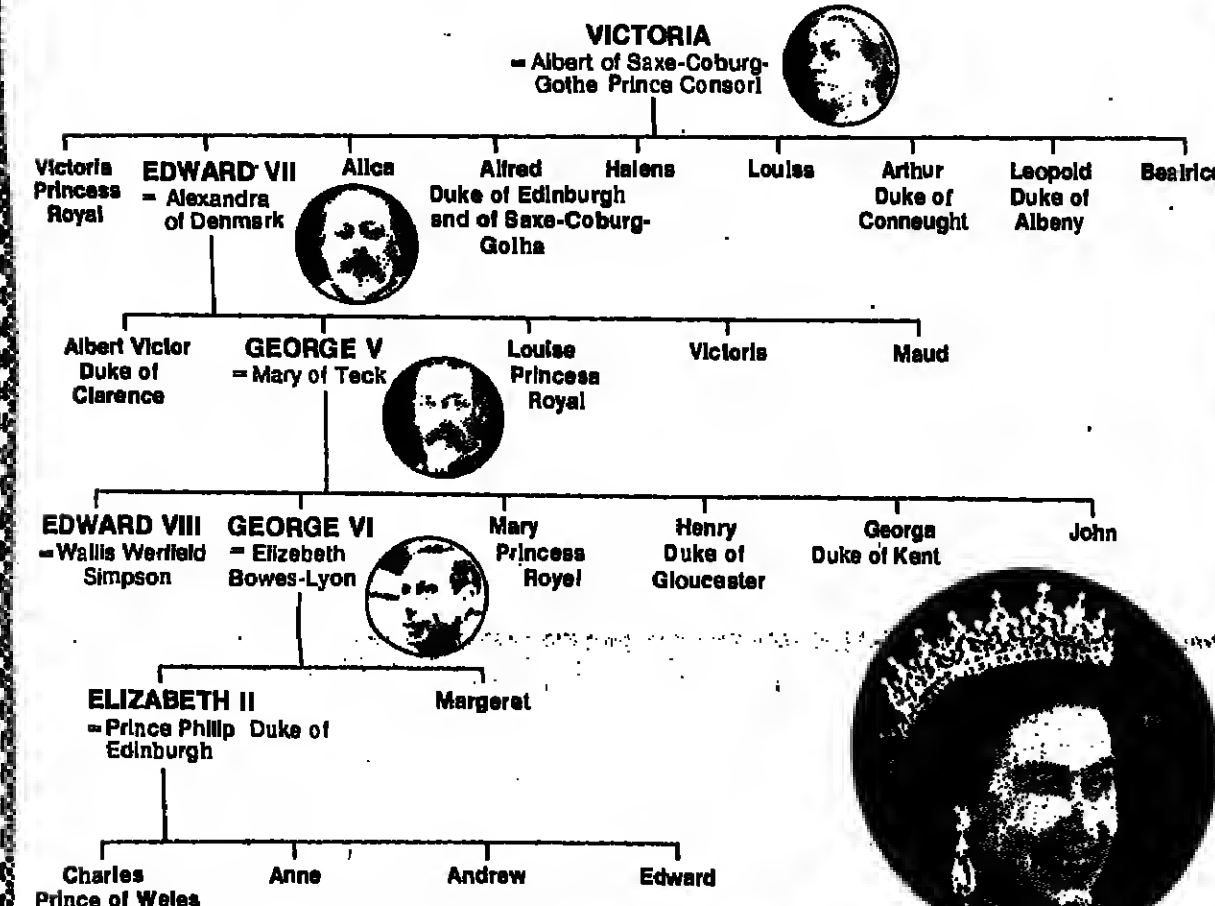


Queen Elizabeth I



King Charles II

Line of descent of Queen Elizabeth II



Political change produces a need for basic reform

By John Allan May
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

During the past 25 years a great and basic change has come to British politics.

Probably no one is more keenly aware of this than Queen Elizabeth II herself. For the Queen is confident of every prime minister, audience for every member of the Cabinet, and is privy to all major and most minor secrets, actions, and events. She is inevitably the best informed and by her nature the most thoughtful political personage in the kingdom.

In brief, this is the change:

• Whatever might be true of the past, no single party, even if it has a parliamentary majority, can any longer form a government that has the support of a majority of the electorate.

• Over the past 25 years each succeeding government, Conservative and Labour, although it has claimed a "mandate" for its party policies, in fact has enforced them against the



By R. Norman Matheny, staff photographer

Labour Prime Minister James Callaghan

political wishes of a majority of the electorate. Clearly this could be dangerous for democracy.

Because of Great Britain's peculiar electoral system and its special history as a three- (or four-) nation political unit, this development has become increasingly strong, as well as increasingly obvious and significant.

Today it is quite possible to have a government that has the electoral support of only 35 percent of the electors, which could mean (although it does not always do so) that its policies go against the grain of 65 percent of the people.

The recent Labour-Liberal pact may be seen as a tentative and temporary effort to overcome this now serious crack in the very fabric of the constitution.

Were an election to be held tomorrow, it is quite possible that the Conservatives would win by a landslide over Liberal and Labour; would achieve a majority in Parliament; and yet would be supported by fewer than 40 percent of the votes cast.

In such a situation the prospects for a government committed, perhaps, to right-wing, free-enterprise, monetarist policies are hazardous.

This is particularly so if one adds to the equation the practiced industrial power of the world's most experienced and possibly most influential trade union movement.

In such circumstances more and more observers believe that the case for electoral reform cannot long be denied.

But equally, more and more conclude that the case for devolution — that is, for a federal United Kingdom — becomes ever stronger.

There would then almost certainly be genuine majority governments in each of the constituent countries, with a majority provincial government in Northern Ireland.

But others note that whichever of these alternatives happens, one is still left with unresolved dilemmas:

• No single party could form a majority government in Britain as a whole.

• A minority party, with Liberals, might become a permanent party-in-power. For each major party would depend on Liberal support for its continuance in office.

• Power in Northern Ireland might be restored to the militant Protestant faction (because if the Scots, Welsh, and English have it, Ulstermen too could again claim the same right of local majority rule).

One does not know what the right answer is, or what the eventual answer will be. But one can be sustained at least by the knowledge that the United Kingdom boasts about the most experienced, the most sophisticated, and the most peaceful democratic system on earth.

And, as an experienced observer myself, I can tell you this: There is no senior British politician who will not value the advice and support of the sovereign on such difficult but vital matters as these.

More than pageantry — joyful thanksgiving

Britain's jubilee year is not being celebrated with pageantry only — nor was it meant to be. The many jubilee events scheduled throughout the United Kingdom include solemn occasions which will honor "ideals, love of country, unity, common purpose."

The word jubilee itself derives from the Hebrew "yobel" — ram's horn. In Biblical times, a trumpet made from a ram's horn was sounded to announce the jubilee year when debts were forgiven, slaves freed, and the lands lay fallow. It was a time when the people joyfully celebrated past achievements and solemnly dedicated themselves to the future.

In that spirit, thanksgiving services will be held throughout the United Kingdom, with the main jubilee service at St. Paul's Cathedral in London on June 7.

A full list of some 200 jubilee events, both solemn and light-hearted, is available in a free publication called "Welcome to Royal Britain." For copies, write to the nearest British Tourist Authority: 880 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10019; Suite 2450, John Hancock Center, 875 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60611; 1712 Commerce Street, Dallas, Texas 75201; 812 South Flower Street, Los Angeles, California 90017; or to the British Tourist Authority, 64 St. James' Street, London, SW1, England.



Parliament: harnessing tradition for the future

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Profit potential in technology still largely untapped

By David Fishlock
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

London
The early 1950s were golden years for British science and invention. The technical triumphs of wartime had convinced many influential people that Britain's prosperity could be restored by setting up large scientific research centers and programs and by financing research generously.

Robert Watson-Watt, as superintendent of radio research at the National Physical Laboratory, was cited as an example. He had drawn upon a decade of purely scientific research — using radio waves to explore the ionosphere — in proposing a highly original and effective way of locating enemy aircraft — radar.

Proponents of more money for science also had in mind the way atomic research in the 1920s and 1930s of universities throughout Europe had succeeded in splitting the atom, culminating in the famous Frisch-Peters memorandum to the British Government in 1940: "On the construction of a super-bomb based on a chain reaction in uranium." America's Manhattan Project drew on this memo, pooling the atomic talent of the allies.

British scientists responded enthusiastically to postwar popularity and patronage. From radar came not only an important branch of the electronics industry but also radio-astronomy (the mapping of radio sources in space) pioneered in Britain. In 1974 two of the pioneers of this exciting new science, Anthony Hewish and Sir Martin Ryle, won the first Nobel Prize for radio-astronomy.

War-time research on the atomic bomb was largely responsible for the confidence that atomic physics had laid sound foundations for a new controlled source of energy, fission power. Britain had launched its own nuclear weapons program in 1946 with nuclear electricity as a secondary but nevertheless high priority. By 1952 Calder Hall, the world's first nuclear power station of commercial size (220 megawatts of electricity) was being built.

The Harwell Atomic Energy Research Establishment scientists, moreover, had begun to draft plans for a much more ambitious type of nuclear boiler, called the fast breeder reactor, which promised virtual independence from imported uranium to a nation unable to find indigenous uranium. In 1953 the search began for a site for the Dounreay fast reactor, an experimental power-producing reactor, which for 18 years served as a test bed for fast reactor technology. It was finally shut down in March, 1977.



Photo by British Information Services

The Harrier 'jump-jet' V-STOL needs no runway

May, 1952, saw the first scheduled flight of a revolutionary airliner called the Comet I, powered by turbojet engines. De Havilland, seeking to apply another seminal wartime invention to civil operations, had designed the aircraft to fly at heights unheard of for pre-war passenger aircraft, around 30,000 feet — way above the weather — in order to use the turbojet engine economically.

The company's bold venture ended in tragedy caused by flaws in the detailed design of the pressurized cabin. But Comet I showed the way to a new generation of aircraft. Moreover, the crash research program to discover the fatal flaw was able to put the redesigned Comet 4 into service three weeks ahead of its first competitor, the Boeing 707. Sad to say, there can scarcely be a better example of the commercial advantage of being second into untested areas.

In April, 1952, the famous British wartime inventor, Barnes Wallis, outlined the shape of aircraft to come. In a lecture in London he put forward ideas for "flying bodies" — aircraft with wings only for take-off and landing, which folded back to form an almost wingless projectile at cruising speed. This was the springboard for the Wallis Swallow, the world's first variable-geometry aircraft.

Meanwhile another seminal advance in aviation was taking shape in the mind of A. A. Griffith, Rolls-Royce's chief scientist: so idea "more fantastic than any other inventor, more fantastic than the wildest artist, had imagined," as one of the best commentators on

aeronautical engineering has written.

In 1954 a tangle of pipes and girders affectionately known as the "flying bedstead" made its first free flight, demonstrating the possibility of vertical takeoff by jet lift for a winged aircraft. By the late 1960s Griffith's "fantasy" had metamorphosed into the Harrier "jump-jet," a dramatic advance in fighting machinery, now in operation with the U.S. Marines.

Britain's most famous center for academic research before, and for at least a decade or so after World War II, was the Cavendish Laboratory at Cambridge. Here in the early 1950s the flamboyant Francis Crick and his bright young American collaborator James Watson, worked on the revolutionary model of the double helix, which was to earn them a share of the Nobel prize for medicine in 1962. Their elegant proposal, showing how two sugar-phosphate backbones are curled up in the same vertical axis in the molecular structure of DNA and RNA, has proved an extraordinarily fruitful scientific model.

From the Cavendish Laboratory in 1957 came a new tool for use in almost every branch of science. This was C. W. Ostley's scanning electron microscope analyzer. It embodied con-

cepts swiftly adopted by the nearby research center of Tube Investments, one of Britain's biggest engineering groups; and by the instrument maker Cambridge Instruments. The outcome was the Stereoscan, a microscope with a field of focus 300 times greater than any of its predecessors.

So startling were its disclosures, the company had to take special pains to convince microscopists that its pictures were not faked.

Few could doubt that the intellectual challenge of pure science is an activity in which Britain excels. Between 1901, when the first Nobel prizes were awarded, and coronation year, Britain carried off nearly a fifth of the science and medicine prizes — no fewer than 31 of the 171 awarded. In 1952 itself Arthur Martin and Richard Syngé shared the chemistry prize for their invention of chromatography, an ingenious new way of investigating giant molecules.

But for a nation poor in most natural resources, the way to prosperity lies through manufacture — adding maximum value to other peoples' resources. Few of the ideas or inventions turned into moneyspinners for Britain.

All too often the challenge proved too much and Britain discovered too late that it could not supply the resources needed to capitalize on its discoveries. For one thing, the cash was simply not there. For another, the best minds seemed to prefer the challenge of scientific research to the challenge of manufacture and marketing.

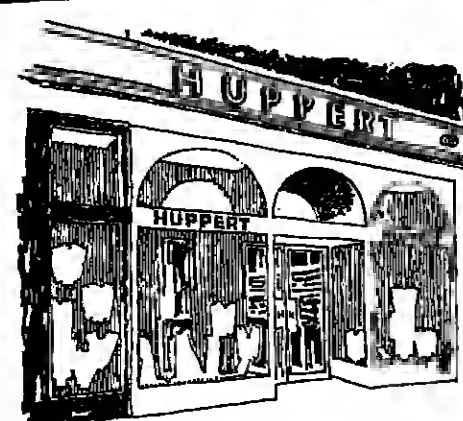
In the 1970s Britain has tried hard to compile a more balanced portfolio of science and invention. It knows it can afford very few billion-dollar projects — Concorde, commercial fast-breeder reactors, etc. It can afford very few of the "big machines" of today's science, such as \$200 million rigs for plasma physics or accelerators for atom-smashing.

What Britain desperately needs are more scientific successes on the scale of Godfrey Hounsfield's EMI scanner, the "smart" X-ray instrument which since 1972 has won orders worth over \$250 million for EMI and — against all the odds — stayed ahead of some very powerful rivals in the United States and elsewhere.

David Fishlock is science editor of the Financial Times, London.



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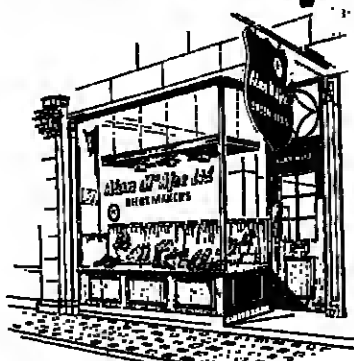
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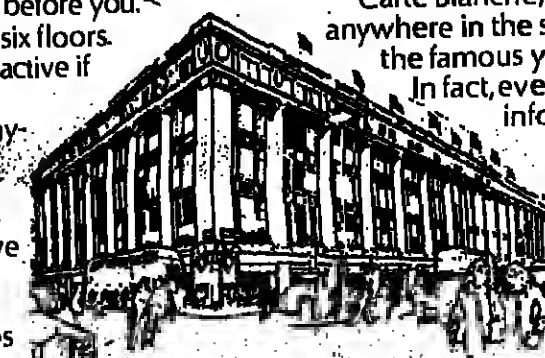
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Commonwealth grows and evolves

A binding facility: the English language

By Takashi Oka
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

LONDON
In the 25 years of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the British Commonwealth of nations has evolved from a cosy club of mainly white countries into a multiracial 38-nation community comprising one-fourth of mankind.

One key to this successful evolution is that the Commonwealth's globe-spanning leaders enjoy "a special facility — the ability to talk to each other in a common language, English."

This is the view of Shridath S. Ramphal, the forceful, articulate Guyanese who has served as Commonwealth Secretary General for the past two years.

"The Commonwealth provides the only forum where leaders of rich nations and poor nations can talk to each other informally, in a nonconfrontational manner," Mr. Ramphal said in a recent interview. "They often disagree — sometimes sharply. But it's much better to disagree with each other in a language both can speak than to do it through interpreters. And there's a much better chance of coming to an agreement that way."

To Mr. Ramphal, the new Commonwealth plays "a much more exciting role" than the old one. It is in the forefront of the search for solutions to global problems — hunger, poverty, racial injustice. It is itself "a sample of the world community, of its differences and its problems, but with the facility and the habit of talking to each other, of communication."

Queen Elizabeth's changing role mirrors the change in the character of the Commonwealth. In her father George VI's day, the Commonwealth nations were united by allegiance to a single crown. In 1949, India decided to become a republic without leaving the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth prime ministers came up with a formula that enabled countries either to continue to have the British monarch as their head of state, or to have their own head of state. Since then the monarch has been a "symbol — but no more — of the free association of nations."

When Queen Elizabeth came to the throne in 1952, the Commonwealth had only eight full members — Britain, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, and the three Asian members, India, Pakistan, and Ceylon. Not a single black African country was a member.

In 1957, Ghana joined, and "the Commonwealth has never stopped expanding since then," — the latest member being the tiny Sey-



Shridath S. Ramphal
Commonwealth Secretary-General

chelles in the Indian Ocean. Queen Elizabeth has played her symbolic role with enormous tact and hard work, building up a network of personal relationships with prime ministers and presidents both of old Commonwealth countries and of new, and winning "their immense regard."

The Commonwealth has a population of 950 million, of whom 845 million are from developing countries. Of these, 780 million are counted among the world's absolute poor, living in lands where annual per capita income comes to less than \$200.

Besides the bilateral aid which Commonwealth countries give one another, Mr. Ramphal pointed out, there is the Commonwealth fund for technical cooperation. This fund began with a modest £500,000 (\$800,000) yearly budget but spent £7 million (\$12 million) last year and hopes to increase the sum to £11 million (\$18.3 million) in 1978.

Mr. Ramphal, personifies the diversity of today's Commonwealth. Of Indian background, he was born in Guyana, a country which itself is composed of two major communities, the African and the East Indian. Though English-speaking, Guyana is surrounded by Spanish and Portuguese speaking countries.

Married to an Englishwoman, and educated himself in Britain, Mr. Ramphal served as his country's foreign and justice minister before succeeding Arnold Smith, a Canadian, as Commonwealth Secretary General in 1975.

Over and over, Mr. Ramphal stresses the importance of "the habit of working together." Commonwealth prime ministers convene their

conference once in two years, but many of their ministers meet more frequently. The Commonwealth finance ministers' get-together is an annual event, always held just before the meetings of the governors of the World Bank and of the International Monetary Fund.

Commonwealth education ministers have just met in Accra, Ghana. Commonwealth law ministers meet regularly also, sharing a common background in British-based law.

On one aspect of the law, Mr. Ramphal said, many Commonwealth countries have a closer link with the United States than with Britain.

"In every Commonwealth country with constitutions including guarantees of human rights and the rule of law, the courts will look first to decisions of the United States Supreme Court. The whole concept of judicial review in the modern Commonwealth derives more from American than from British jurisprudence."

This is because Britain, with an unwritten constitution, still operates on the theory of the supremacy of Parliament, whereas in the United States there is a clear separation of powers and a supreme court to interpret a written constitution.

Currently, Mr. Ramphal said, the Commonwealth faces one of its greatest challenges in southern Africa. The Commonwealth secretariat has "never been far from any initiative" taken to help solve the problems caused by Rhodesia's unilateral declaration of independence in 1965 and by South Africa's apartheid policies and retention of Namibia (South-West Africa). At last year's Geneva conference between Rhodesia's Ian Smith regime and black nationalist leaders, the Commonwealth secretariat provided 25 experts to assist the nationalist delegations.

"I'd like to think we're approaching the final stage" of efforts to obtain black majority rule in Rhodesia, Mr. Ramphal said. "By the time Commonwealth prime ministers convene here in June, we may see the way ahead more clearly."



By R. Norman Matheny, staff photographer

Pivot of the Commonwealth
The Union Jack over Parliament



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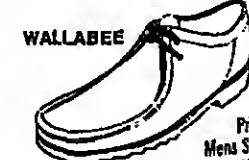
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When Boston welcomed the Queen

By Stewart Dill McBride
Staff writer of
The Christian Science Monitor

"I think she's coming! Up there on the balcony," squealed a giggling schoolgirl.

"Yes. But the crown? Is she wearing the crown?" responded her somewhat shorter companion standing on tiptoes.

Queen Elizabeth II with Prince Philip at her side paused, smiled, and waved to the blue-blooded and commoners alike who issued a cheer which must have rivaled the applause when the Declaration of Independence was first read to 1776 from the same balcony of the Old State House — the original seat of British government in the colonies.

The United States will never forget the royal couple's six-day bicentennial visit to the U.S. last July, with all the pomp and pageantry, 21-gun salutes, and brass band fanfares of "Rule Britannia." And perhaps the most memorable day was the Queen's farewell to the U.S. in Boston.

For the first time in the nation's history, a reigning British monarch had dared set foot in the "Cradle of Liberty" — a town that has always been proud of its troublemaking for the crown long before those farmers from Concord fired "The shot heard 'round the world."

Baffling the irony of a monarch crossing the ocean to pay homage to an act of revolt, the Queen was given a set of 36 sterling silver teaspoons by America's oldest chartered military company in the same city which two centuries ago threw a less-than-proper Boston Tea Party for her great-great-great grandfather King George III.

The Queen's visit here is one that Americans seemed to have fondly remembered among all the fireworks and Fourth of July speeches that made up the nation's birthday party last summer. Now Americans are bidding their best wishes across the Atlantic to the island people for another birthday celebration — the 25th jubilee anniversary of Queen Elizabeth's reign. As one Bostonian put it recently: "She came to help us celebrate the bicentennial. Now it's our turn to return the favor."



By Gordon N. Converse, chief photographer

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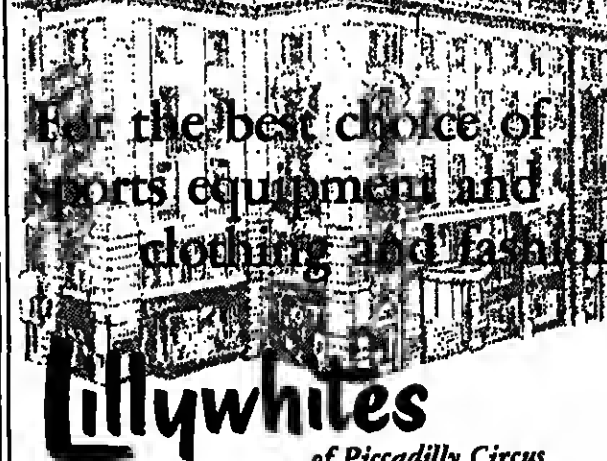
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The City, linchpin of the British economy

By John Allan Moy
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

In one sense the City of London has grown in importance since the accession of Queen Elizabeth II 25 years ago.

To the British, of course, "the City" does not mean London as a whole. The words have both a singular and a dual meaning.

Geographically they refer only and specially to the inner 677 acres of London — usually called "the square mile" — the historic core of the capital, the City within the city, the area once surrounded by a Roman wall and spoken of then with respect as a "town of the highest repute" by the historian Tacitus.

Generically, the words refer here not to the general concept of urban society everywhere but specifically to the concept of finance — banking, brokerage, discounts, insurance, stocks and bonds and general financial know-how — of which the inner square mile of London remains the source, the center, and the symbol.

And if the City has grown in importance in the past 25 years it is because finance has grown so in importance and widened so in scope.

The number of foreign banks in the City has increased tenfold. Pension funds, previously the smallest of the institutions, today are almost the biggest. Lloyds of London deals in billions for insurance rather than millions. And if there are gamblers on the stock market by far the largest is the government broker, who does most of the business.

But beyond this, it may even be said with some justice that the City has rescued Britain from otherwise inevitable bankruptcy.

It represents the one sector of the British economy that has never been in deficit. These days, together with tourism, the City's international payments surplus totals some £1,500

million sterling annually (more than \$2.6 billion).

In 1978 Britain probably will have an overall surplus once again. It is estimated to reach just about that amount — £1,500 million sterling. Thus, it could be said that the rest of the economy will at last be breaking even, with the City and with oil providing the profit. In the 1980s oil will take over as the main source of profit, but the contribution of the City will remain absolutely irreplaceable.

So it is ironic, perhaps, that at this very moment the essentially capitalist City of London is under threat of a take-over by the usually socialist Greater London Council (GLC). The City's major institutions such as its banks and insurance companies are under the shadow of the new nationalization policies being prepared for the next socialist administration and when the Labour Party is voted back to power once more.

The trouble is, one supposes, that to many people these days the City just does not make sense any more.

It has been self-governing for 2,000 years. Special rights and privileges were confirmed in the famous Magna Carta forced from King John, on which the freedoms of the British people still are based. Within its boundaries its lord mayor takes precedence over all but the sovereign herself.

Yet it has become in a way a Cinderella city, where midnight chimes at 5 o'clock.

The lord mayor may include a gilded coach, and his officers may include his sword-bearer, his Common-cryer, and his Remembrancer. But every evening when the clock strikes the hour, out of the total population of 400,000, some 304,000 snatch up their things and flee to their homes in the country as fast as their trains will carry them.

To many a tidy-minded administrator the City's independence as an authority with its own police force, schools, housing program,

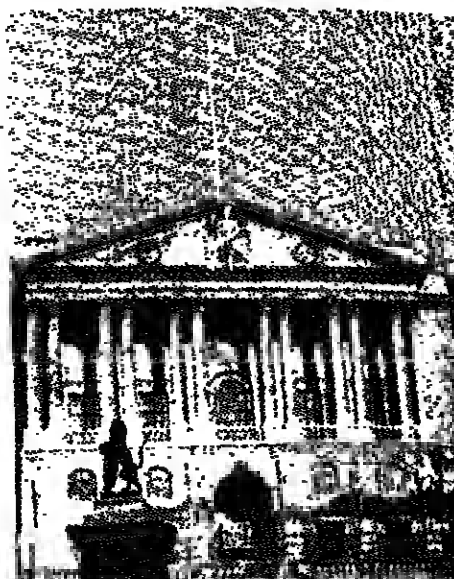
and special services no longer makes sense.

To many a socialist the privileges of this wealthy and almost feudal-seeming society where money and markets rule are somehow a political affront in these progressive and egalitarian days. Hence, the threat (or promise) of nationalization.

Yet Britain obviously cannot do without the City, using the term in its widest sense to embrace all the private financial, marketing, trading, and monetary operations of which this tiny independent area remains the symbol — as the street signs suggest:

Bread Street, Change Alley, Cheapside, Commercial Street, Fashion Street, Royal Exchange Avenue, Golden Lane, and the like.

This annual Lord Mayor's Show led by its golden coach may just be a fun thing, but the annual surplus provided these days by the City's business is more than ever vital to the stability as well as the prosperity of the whole country.



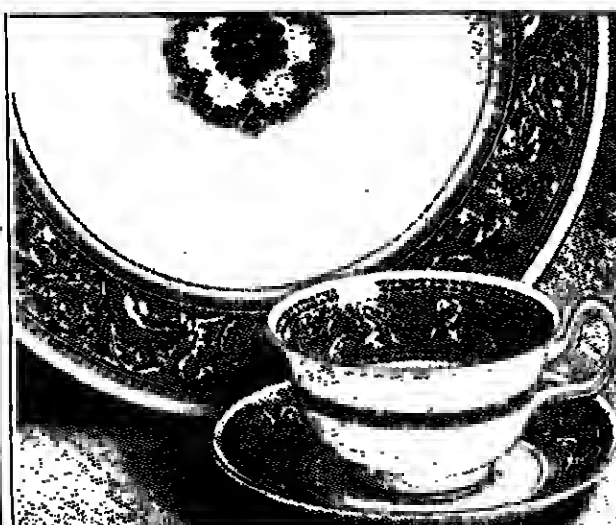
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★The Queen — continuity amid change

Continued from Page B1

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The U.S. Navy today buys V-STOLs from Hawker Siddeley in Britain. But it will shortly be getting them from American firms which have bought the rights to the Harrier, the current version favored in the U.S. Navy. Similarly, Rolls-Royce engines are being made in American factories. The Concorde supersonic airliner is a technical success, but an economic disaster. British industry can pioneer, but it has lost out over and over again in production.

Add to industrial disappointment the contraction of empire. For much of Queen Elizabeth's reign she and other members of her family have been kept busy attending ceremonies all over the world at which the Union Jack is hoisted down for the last time.

The British Empire has been liquidated peacefully. It is probably the most peaceable end to empire in history, certainly on such a grand scale. But it is the end of empire; Queen Elizabeth today is only a Queen, not an Empress.

There have been "bright interludes" throughout the story of contraction and disappointment. London still "swings." Britain is still the source of the best of men's fashions and the finest of woolens. Its craftsmen still make clothes and shoes for the sheikhs of Arab as well as for the more discriminating of Texas millionaires. The theater, ballet, opera, music have flourished in "a second restoration" of the arts in Britain.

And perhaps the turn of the economic tide lies just ahead. North Sea oil is already on the British market. The government expects to have a net profit on its balance of trade next year. But, meanwhile, one of NATO's great worries is the fact that much of the British Army on the Rhine is actually over in Ulster trying with less than total success to reconcile Roman Catholic Britons with Protestant Britons. Those troops ought to be in West Germany alongside the forces of their NATO allies.

Little of this has been happy for Britain's Queen. But she has never complained and never failed to do her duty, even when it forced her to interfere with the happiness of her sister Margaret. The Queen wanted to let her sister marry the first man of her choice, Group Captain Peter Townsend. At the time she was forced by public and establishment opinion to block the marriage. Princess Margaret's life has been less than a happy one from that day.

Queen Elizabeth has been sustained in her work by the loyalty of her family. Let us join in hoping that in the next 25 years of her reign the British people will do more for themselves and less on her.

The writer of this article is a graduate of Cambridge University, was NBC's London correspondent during the middle years of the Queen's reign, and was awarded a C.B.E. (Hon.) by the Queen for his work in helping to sustain good relations between Britain and the United States.

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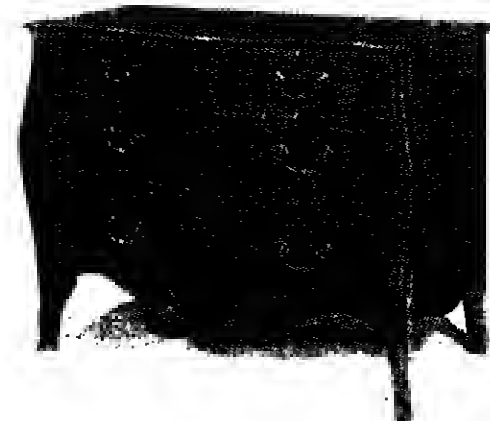
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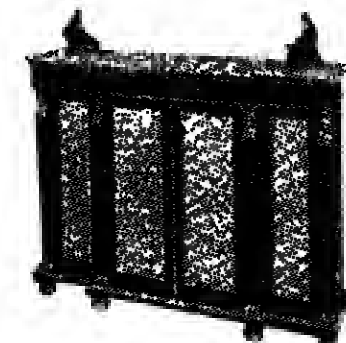
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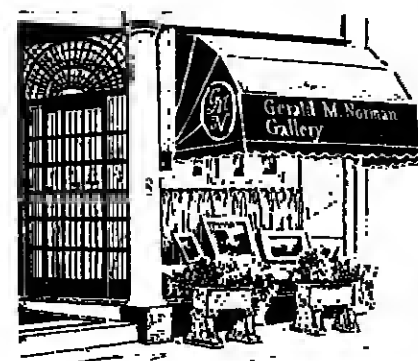
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Ruling the waves no longer - but certainly the boards

By Harold Hobson
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

London
Just about the time of the Queen's accession in 1952, Everest was conquered for the first time. The expedition that brought off this tremendous achievement was British, led by an Englishman, John Hunt. The two members who actually made the final and successful assault on the mountain were a New Zealander and an Indian Sherpa.

This was Britain's last imperial triumph. It set hopes high for a second Elizabethan Age comparable in glory and strength to the first - the most renowned in English history. But those hopes have been, in every sphere but one, disappointed.

Dean Acheson, in a famous phrase, said that Britain had "lost an empire, and has not yet found a role." But in one activity at least, Britain has not only found a role, but several roles. And they are all theatrical.

From the great age of Shakespeare onward, England has been famous for its theater. When Queen Elizabeth came to the throne, the British theater, appealing chiefly to a well-to-do audience, was doing fairly but not spectacularly well. It had writers like Christopher Fry and T. S. Eliot. But of all the expectations of glory deceptively aroused by the climbing of Everest, none included the possibility that the British theater would, within only a couple of years, become the most influential in the world. Yet this is what happened. The splendors that were foreseen did not come. But that which was not foreseen arrived with irresistible force.

Britain may have ceased to be a world power; but that it has become a word-power of extraordinary authority cannot be doubted. Whether it is a completely satisfactory exchange of roles may be questioned by many.

But it is impressive that British theater should have reached, in the present reign, one of the highest peaks in the long history of the drama.

What has happened is that the class basis of British drama has been eroded. The play that launched it on its present course was, as everyone knows, John Osborne's "Look Back in Anger" in 1956.

Osborne himself is not a revolutionary. He has an admiration and a sort of wounded, protesting affection for what used to be called by Englishmen "the glories of our blood and state." This admiration, he knows, cannot make these glories endure. In some moods, Osborne thinks that not only is their destruction inevitable, but also just. And yet he bitterly regrets this destruction, which has taken with it many things that he loves as well as some that he hates.

He expressed this ambivalence of feeling in "West of Suez" (1971), in which Sir Ralph Richardson gave one of his most memorable performances. The last words of that play - an indignant exclamation, "They have shot the fox" - have a peculiar resonance for traditional Englishmen, who have killed foxes for centuries in the hunting field, but consider the shooting of a fox an unforgivable crime.

That the Empire had to go, Osborne has never disputed; but his anguish at the manner of its going, and at what has taken its place, is what gives such power to plays like "West of Suez," "The Entertainer," and "A Sense of Detachment."

The cardinal importance of "Look Back in Anger" lay not only in its inherent value, but in the fact that at the time it was misunderstood. Out of this misunderstanding was born a whole brood of dramatists. In 1956, this play was taken to be an outright attack upon the British class system, and this attack was taken up with enthusiasm by writers till then unknown, but now world-famous. Arnold Wesker, David



Sir John Gielgud as Caesar, Ann Firbank as Calpurnia

'Julius Caesar' at the National Theatre

Storey, and E. A. Whitehead wrote plays of deep feeling concerning the defects of British society. They were presented by the English Stage Company at the Royal Court Theatre, where "Look Back in Anger" was first presented. Distrust of the establishment order became the keynote of the revival of British drama.

It was in keeping with the temper of this drama that fringe theaters sprang up all over central London, in garrets, basements, and the backrooms of taverns - the British versions of Off-Broadway and Off-Off Broadway. The King's Head, the Almost Free, the Bush, the Sulu-Pulu, and others staged the works of young unknowns.

They brought in a new kind of audience; younger, more dissatisfied than the old, more

protesting. Evening dress disappeared from the stalls. Meanwhile, Harold Pinter pursued an independent course, divorced from politics, but equally opposed to the old kind of drama, and equally (indeed, perhaps even more) important.

There have been two other developments of great importance. One was the extension of the work of the Royal Shakespeare Company from Stratford to London. This has bred a new and freer approach to Shakespeare.

The other major development is the opening of the National Theatre. It is a magnificent addition, not only to the dramatic art of London but to its architecture. Now directed by Peter Hall, in the exciting first years of its existence it was housed in the Old Vic and launched into greatness by Sir Laurence Olivier.



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Oxford University: where time-honored traditions linger

Special to The Christian Science Monitor
When the Queen visited Oxford University last year, her visit was called the most memorable event of 1976. And that judgment came from a university not easily impressed by world figures — having watched them pass for some eight centuries.

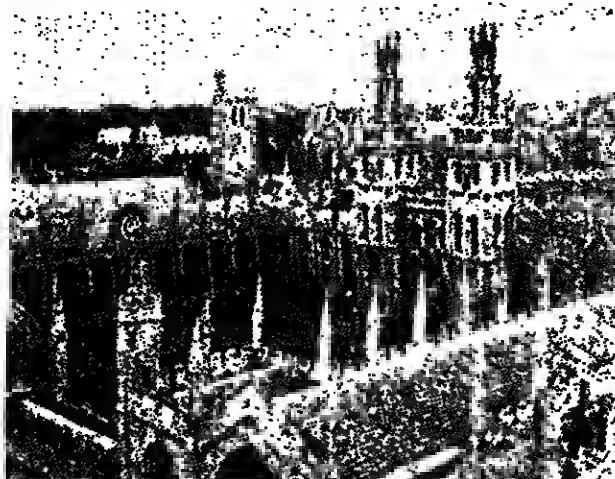
Visits by kings and queens have not always taken place under such pleasant and peaceful conditions. During the 17th century civil war, King Charles I sheltered at Oxford. He was joined there by his wife, Henrietta Maria, back from the continent where she obtained arms and ammunition for the royal cause.

Even then the university welcomed the royal couple in a typically Oxford fashion. True to a tradition that persists to this day, King Charles and his Queen had to stay in separate colleges — although a doorway was cut in the dividing wall.

Even a king could not bend the university's rules. Tradition has it that when King Charles sent a servant to the Bodleian Library to borrow a book, the king's request was turned down by the librarian. The king, after all, was not a registered member of the library.

But if such incidents have a familiar ring to today's Oxford students, and if change at Oxford seems to creep along at a snail's pace, the university cannot be all that out of touch with the times. Recent studies show graduates from Oxford and its cousin university, Cambridge (disjoint cousins in the eyes of the rival students), still fill about 60 percent of the top government posts.

Oxford was isolated from the student turmoil that racked most Western universities in the '60s and early '70s, and there seems little change in sight. Three years ago an attempt to



All Souls' College, Oxford

University traditions rise to meet new demands

raise a banner of protest against the lack of a student union led to a number of demonstrations and arrests. But student protest has died out now in the same air of apathy in which it surfaced.

Part of the current quietude at Oxford may stem from the shadows cast over all British universities by the nation's economic crisis. Universities which saw unparalleled growth in the 1960s now have less state aid for their students, and they must struggle to meet spiraling costs.

Oxford and other universities face further uncertainties as the approaching decline in the numbers of college-age students. Currently, there are 830,000 18-year-olds in the United Kingdom. This group will peak in five years at 927,000, only to plummet to 830,000 in 1989, and further to 600,000 in 1993. The trend will mean for a university like Oxford is not too clear.

In addition, Oxford continues its trend away from its strictly religious heritage from which it emerged in the 12th Ages. While the university already had broken with clericalism in the 18th century to gear itself for the emerging industrial and imperial state, its religious underpinnings may be weakened still further as a number of Anglican training colleges, some of them closely linked with the university colleges, may close. A recent Church of England commission recommended closing some 8 Anglican colleges in Oxford and Cambridge, which had been the two major centers of training for the Anglican ministry.

If changes now seem inevitable for the university, in the end they may only be a passing fad. As A. H. Halsey of Nuffield College recently said of Oxford in a Times supplement on education: "The place engulfs you — it wraps itself around you rhetorically and architecturally. It resists change, but it also disguises change in continuity."

Yet the severe economic problems facing Britain suggest changes may be needed in its educational approach. A Queen Elizabeth has succeeded in bolstering national pride in the face of discouraging post-war developments, perhaps a university like Oxford can take initiatives for a future in which the potential of a talented people can be practically realized.

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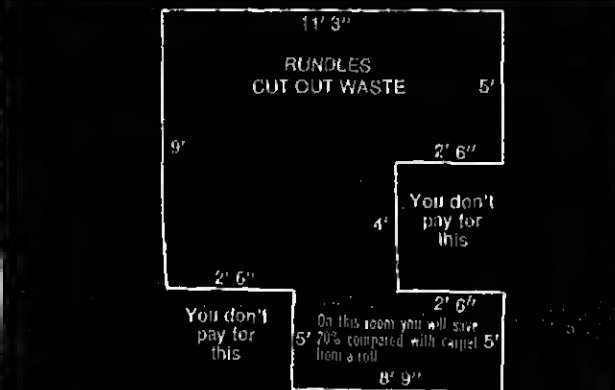
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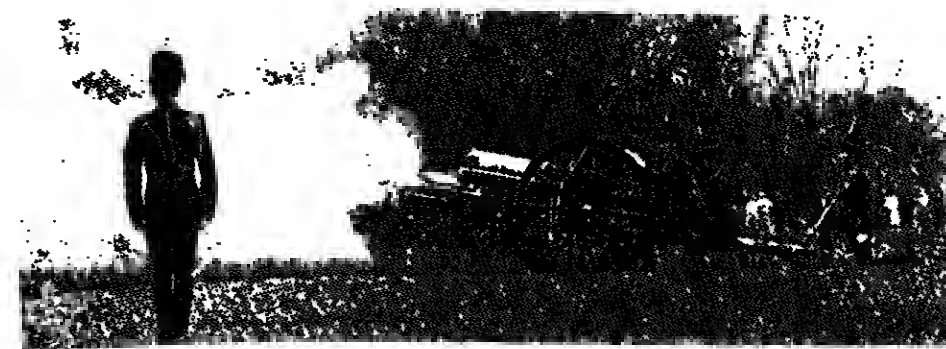
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Australia's ties to Britain's royalty run deep despite nationalism

By Tom Millar
Specialist to The Christian Science Monitor

Ninety years ago there was a flourishing republican movement in New South Wales, directed against rule from 10,000 miles away, against the hereditary principle, a stratified society, and an imported honors system under which the Queen confers titles.

It was very much a minority movement, and it dwindled to almost nothing after the six colonies formed the Independent Commonwealth of Australia in 1901.

Under the new nation's Constitution, the federal Parliament was deemed to consist of the Queen (then Queen Victoria), a Senate, and a House of Representatives, the Queen being represented by a governor-general.

Today, the Constitution remains almost unaltered, and the British monarchy is the main formal link between Australia and the United Kingdom. Australia is celebrating, in this jubilee year, 25 years of the reign not of the Queen of England but the Queen of Australia.

Today, again, there is a flourishing republican movement, directed not so much at rule from London as at the concept of an external head of state. It is also a minority movement, generating more noise than support, but it is more substantial and thus more permanent.

It was boosted by the events of late 1975, when the Governor-General, Sir John Kerr, dismissed the Prime Minister, Gough Whitlam. The curious thing is that Mr. Whitlam sought to appeal to the Queen in London over the head of Sir John, who was Mr. Whitlam's own nominee.

He was unsuccessful because he was no longer prime minister.

The Whitlam government had abolished, at the federal level, resort to the British honors system, including degrees of knighthood, and introduced in its place the Order of Australia. This was still formally derived from the Crown as the fount of honor, but was without knighthood and was indigenous by definition.

The Liberal Prime Minister, Malcolm Fraser, reverted to the British system, retained the Australian order in parallel but instituted within it a senior knighthood for outstanding services to the nation. Sir Robert Menzies was the first recipient.

This would seem to run against the tide, slow though it usually is, of Australian nationalism. At a referendum to be held shortly, a national anthem is to be chosen, and will almost certainly not be "God Save the Queen," the British anthem that has served Australia for so long but is now too identifiably British and insufficiently Australian.

With the proportion of the Australian population of British stock dipping toward 50 percent, one might have expected a tepid welcome to the Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh during their visit here last month.

Not so. There were a few, small counterdemonstrations, but the people turned out in their hundreds of thousands to welcome and cheer the royal couple. There is obviously much genuine affection for the monarch — probably more than for the British connection which she symbolizes.

Such a possibility, extremely unlikely though it is, demonstrates the need for some constitutional changes — in this case probably more easily achieved in London than in Canberra. Those Australians who would like to exclude the Queen from the Australian governmental process may not realize the formidable difficulties facing even modest amendments to the own Constitution.

The jubilee year has demonstrated that an Australian republic is still a long way off. Australia's prosaic, egalitarian, informal people welcome the romance and dignity of royalty.

In a recent, highly unusual situation, the British Government disagreed over the respointment of the governor of Queensland, who then withdrew. Constitutionalists have asked whether this offers a precedent for the British Government to recommend disallowance of state legislation, as is technically feasible.



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Royalty visits Canada

By Don Sellar
Special correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

To many Canadians, a fleeting glimpse of Queen Elizabeth II passing along a crowded parade route to her limousine is worth hours of waiting, even in the rain.

Some Queen-watchers proudly say they stood five or six hours on a chilly day, in the hope that as the Queen appeared in front of them, she would smile for a snapshot or wave.

It does not matter that the event is televised. They show up, even with babies in their arms, to see if the Queen is anything like her pictures.

Last summer in Wolfville, Nova Scotia, two children waiting in the crowd for the Queen waved two teddy Union Jacks distractedly while their grandmother stood behind them, eyes glistening.

"Those flags went to the royal visit in 1939," she said. That was when King George VI and Queen Elizabeth, the Queen Mother, were on the throne.

Yes, the monarchy is still alive in much of Canada after 25 years of Queen Elizabeth II's reign. In the Maritimes, Ontario, and the west, there seems to be genuine enthusiasm for the Queen whenever she visits the nation.

In Quebec, the home of Canada's French-speaking minority,

the mood seems to be one of indifference, rather than the hostility that bubbled up during one of her visits to the province during the mid-1960s.

These days, however, the Canadian Government is being very careful about how much exposure she is given and what she says during her visits as Queen of Canada.

In this, her silver jubilee year, the Queen will spend only four full days in Canada, Oct. 20-23, and her entire schedule will be played out in Ottawa-Hull, the national capital region.

The government denies it, but sources who traveled on the royal tour of the Maritimes and the Montreal Olympics last summer maintain the Queen wanted to make a more elaborate visit to mark the jubilee.

There was talk of a two-week, cross-Canada trip that now has been curtailed, primarily for economic reasons. During her 15-day trip last year, the Queen ran up a bill of \$500,000, not counting a large security bill, which remains a secret.

In addition, each of the four provinces she visited picked up tabs that probably doubled that figure — all at a time of apending restraint.

The cost of entertaining the Queen is not so big an issue, perhaps, as the problem of defining a useful role for her to play in a modern constitutional monarchy.

In recent years, every word spoken by Queen Elizabeth II has been cleared in advance with the provincial and federal governments concerned. Controversy, it has been decided, is to be avoided at all costs.

As a result, the Queen says nothing that is provocative, and puts little of her own personality into her speeches. She is known to be a woman of strong views, but is allowed to utter them only at cocktail parties or other private functions.

Those who traveled with her last year were often struck by the contrast between her just-completed visit to the United States and the Canadian one.

Not surprisingly, her visit to the U.S. was filled with historic significance that echoed back to the American Revolution. But in Canada, which admittedly was not celebrating a bicentennial year, the Queen almost seemed to avoid historical references.

For example, in the Maritimes she had an opportunity to reflect upon the history of the French-speaking Acadian minority, but did not. Instead, provincial politicians took her to visit new hospitals and senior citizens' homes, where she shook hands with grateful people but had little to say to them.

Quite often during the Watergate scandals, Canadian politicians were quick to praise the value of the monarchy. They noted the value of asparating the head of state and head of government, not combining them in the awesome figure of a U.S. president.

Yet today, the federal government's apparent difficulty in giving Queen Elizabeth or her representative, Governor-General Jules Lege, a more significant role must make it harder for the monarchy to smile in all those parades.

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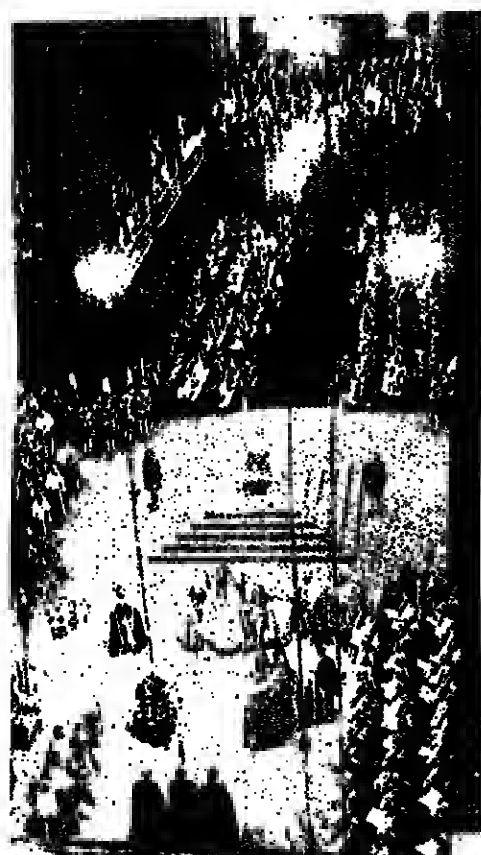
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The British — and religious experience

By Francis Renny
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Nottingham
Head of church as well as head of state, the Queen presides over a realm in which between one-third and one-half of the adult population of Britain claim to have had some form of direct religious experience. They simply know there's a God, or something like one.

This startling discovery, which could have far-reaching implications for the future of religion and the churches, has emerged from research being done at Nottingham University. Lecturers David Hay and Ann Morley, of the Department of Education, working in association with the Religious Experience Research Unit in Oxford, have reported some preliminary findings.

Besides drawing on work done in the United States, they have used surveys conducted nationally in Britain, locally in Nottingham, and intensively among a few selected cases and their students.

An important starting point is the definition of what a religious experience is. David Hay and Ann Morley have used the key question: Have you ever been aware of or influenced by a presence or power, whether you call it God or not, which is different from your everyday self? The nationwide survey of Britain found 38 percent saying "yes"; but a random survey in Nottingham produced more than 60 percent positive response. Some American surveys reported over 70 percent.

Looking at American figures, David Hay found what appeared to be a rising tide of religious experience there. But he thinks that, instead of Americans becoming more religious, survey interviewers are becoming better at eliciting answers, and their interviewees less shy about answering. Time and again in his own surveys, people told him: "I never thought I should tell this to anyone — I haven't even told my wife."

David Hay concludes the experiences are often hard to express in words and people are often embarrassed about admitting them. They do not realize they are not alone.

In an interim report, David Hay says: "It is commonly held that religious experience is very infrequent; but early results suggest this may not be so, even in the U.K., which in a recent survey was labelled one of the least religious nations on earth. Perhaps religious people should be less timid about admitting their experiences."

He goes on, with the help of his findings, to demolish a number of popular assumptions about religious experience. For example, people with training in psychoanalysis tend to interpret such experiences as a symptom of neurosis. Yet reports of religious experience tend to come from people who are unusually well-adjusted and humane.

Again, Marxists believe that religion only survives as an opiate of the poor and oppressed. On the contrary, says Hay, religious experience tends to be more frequent the higher up the socio-economic scale one climbs, and the more educated people are.

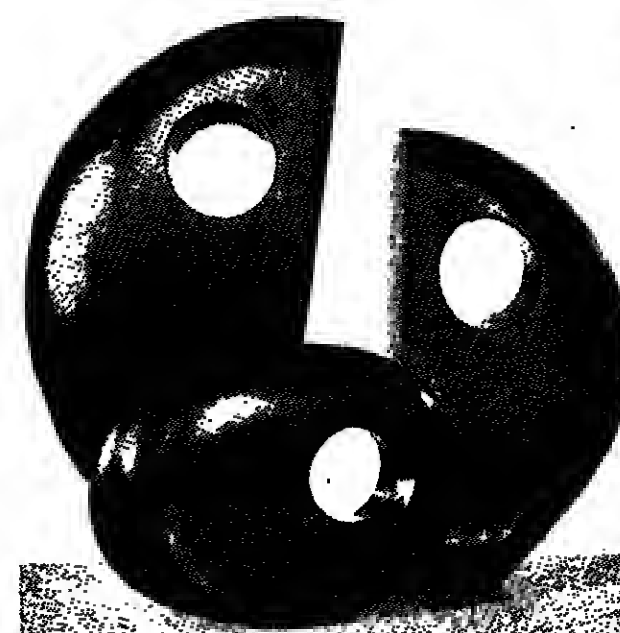
His research gives the lie, too, to the theory that women simply are more religious than men. If religious experience is taken as the measure, then, according to two preliminary surveys, there is a slight preponderance of experience among men.

In general, people reporting religious experience are likely to be more stable and mentally balanced than others, not so likely to be poor, equally likely to be men or women, and quite commonly to have no formal link with any religious institution.

David Hay writes: "If we are right, then the man in the street is not as naive about religion as he is thought to be. Ignorance of religious doctrine may be widespread and increasing, but the same is not necessarily true of the experience out of which mankind has constructed such doctrine."

David Hay, a Roman Catholic who has had his disagreements with the Vatican line, hopes the churches will take note of his findings. Very few of the experiences reported to him have taken the form of typical conversion crisis, or of voices and visions. The experiences tended to hit people unexpectedly, and to take such forms as "I felt very alone, but at the same time I was aware of something that was giving me strength and protection."

David Hay adds, "The richness and variety of this almost hidden world of human experience can in no way be expressed in bare tables of statistics."



From "The Sculpture of Barbara Hepworth": Lund Humphries

Three forms in echelon

Recent British artists build on '30s 'wave of energy'

By Alexandra Johnsoo
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Commenting on British artists during the 1980s, the sculptor Barbara Hepworth said, "We all seemed carried on a wave of creative energy. . . . All of us worked to lay strong foundations for the future through an understanding of the true relationship between architecture, painting, and sculpture." By 1984, the year Hepworth completed the sculpture above, British art had indeed built upon that early foundation laid by such giants as Ben Nicholson, Christopher Wood, and Hepworth herself. More than any other artist of her time, Barbara Hepworth, in her broad range of sculptural achievement, reflects the manifold creative energies of British art. Her influence and inspiration are still felt in works of the succeeding generation of sculptors, whose ranks include Anthony Caro, Kenneth Martin, and William Turnbull.

New Elizabethans cried: 'You never had it so good'

By Joseph C. Harsch
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

The liveliest phase of life in Britain under Queen Elizabeth II began five years after her coronation. It dates from the moment the Tories, back in office and wary of the years of post-war austerity under puritanical Socialists, succeeded in getting rents in large measure decontrolled.

They failed to win total decontrol. In fact low-cost housing is still rented at sub-economic levels. But commercial buildings and middle- and upper-class houses were completely decontrolled. The result was like bringing water to the desert.

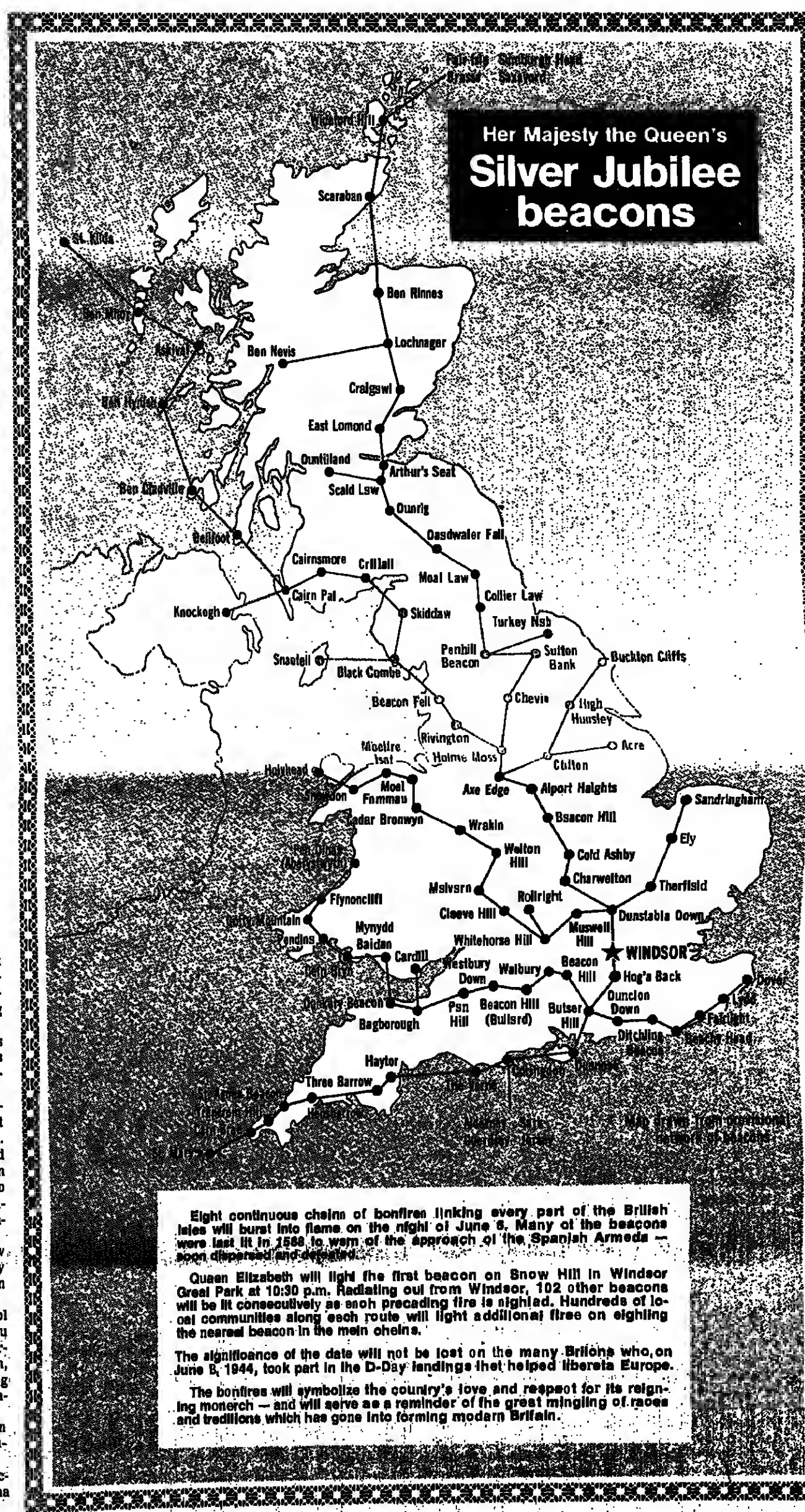
It was exciting to be a part of London life in those days. Decontrol released first freshness, then torrents of new money. It spread from the new rich in widening circles of brighter life. Shops and houses were freshly painted. A flower shop would open up, then a new restaurant. Theaters blossomed forth in new costumes and new scenery. Carnaby Street came into being. Time magazine did a cover story on "Swinging London." Tourists poured in Britain from all over the world to enjoy theater, style, and the general zest for living.

Patronage of the arts reached unprecedented levels. New money available for painters, sculptors, and writers not only allowed British artists and authors to live well, but brought an influx of foreign talent and inspiration.

The Tories were so pleased with the first fruits of decontrol (they ran for re-election in 1959 and won on the slogan "You never had it so good") that they overlooked some less desirable consequences. Fast new money led to over-speculation, sometimes with bank funds. Several of the big popular building and loan associations crashed from misuse of funds. Speculators fled to other countries.

The fast new money also produced the Profumo affair in 1963, ending with Prime Minister Harold Macmillan's resignation.

The following year the voters of Britain turned back reluctantly to the straitlaced Socialists. The second Restoration was over.



Eight continuous chains of bonfires linking every part of the British Isles will burst into flame on the night of June 3. Many of the beacons were last lit in 1588, to warn of the approach of the Spanish Armada — soon dispersed and forgotten.

Queen Elizabeth will light the first beacon on Snow Hill in Windsor Great Park at 10:30 p.m. Radiating out from Windsor, 102 other beacons will be lit consecutively as each preceding fire is sighted. Hundreds of local communities along each route will light additional fires on sighting the nearest beacon in the main chains.

The significance of the date will not be lost on the many Britons who, on June 5, 1944, took part in the D-Day landings that helped liberate Europe.

The bonfires will symbolize the country's love and respect for its reigning monarch — and will serve as a reminder of the great mingling of races and traditions which has gone into forming modern Britain.

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How special is U.S.-British relationship?

By Lord Gore-Booth
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

London

Relations between governments and peoples are strange and complicated things. They may be sensitive to a sketchy knowledge of mutual history, to economic reality, to what President Carter said on nuclear proliferation, to comradeship in arms, to geography, and even to temperament.

Over the relationship between the United States and Britain there floats, to the satisfaction of some and the indignation of others, the aura of a "special relationship." The Queen's jubilee year furnishes an ideal occasion for discussing and deciding whether there is such a thing.

The British have tended to assume that there is such a thing, and then give the wrong reasons for it. It was for many years vaguely supposed that, having regrettably but rather sportingly lost the American War of Independence (not referred to in Britain as the "American Revolution"), the British went away and founded a powerful empire, while the Americans founded a powerful nation, and all was pretty well between them. Actually, it wasn't: there was one war (1812) and very nearly another (1881) when British action was only averted through an intervention by Prince Albert, the husband of Queen Victoria.

Strains developed

There were other irritants, too. Terrible strains developed during World War I when President Woodrow Wilson's scruples and initial pressure from German and Irish-American groups imposed an agonizing delay on what seemed to be the wish of many Americans to come and help the allies. Later came President Calvin Coolidge's famous "they hired the money, didn't they?" when Britain was struggling with the economic consequences of that war.

Despite these periodic strains, the British continued to persuade themselves that Americans, for all their eccentricities of accent and their surfeit of cowboys, were really very like Englishmen. But when the time came for British servicemen in World War II to go to the United States for training, those responsible for their briefing had hurriedly to reverse these legends and explain that Americans, whatever their ancestry, were very American indeed.

How did it then come about that, with such asperities and ignorance behind them, Americans and British gave perhaps the finest example ever known in the history of international teamwork? And was the phenomenon temporary, created out of dire necessity, or does it contain ingredients which, in this case at least, can make some of it permanent?

Discussion encouraged

Indeed it does. British society developing from the aristocratic traditions of the George II period, and Americans developing their institutions on the basis of the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights, arrived at a concept of human rights which allows and indeed encourages open and forthright discussion.

Moreover the shared language, English, meant continuous literary exchange throughout the 19th century and into the 20th which all educated people could understand without translation or interpretation.

This was vital. For however well you or I speak, or think we speak, a foreign language, a little effort is nearly always required to make sure that we say what we mean and to be sure that we understand what the other party means. British and Americans have no such difficulty. Whatever their methods of doing business or expressing astonishment (or even agreement) may be, understanding naturally follows.

We all have our funny stories about this. Englishmen talk across the Atlantic to American friends; American operators break in: "Are you through?" "Yes," replies Englishman and is cut off. But such cases do not invalidate my argument.

Foundation laid

Whatever historic disagreements there may be about ampires, political institutions, or cold drinks, a solid foundation is laid for understanding and sympathy between the United States and Britain. A special relationship does not mean reading each other's classified documents. Or constant recourse to a hot line. It involves a much deeper sense of kinship than the racial. So long as each nation keeps its self-respect, it does not require equality of wealth or power. And this would-be skeptic who saw pictures of the Queen doing a welkabout among the Irish in Boston knows that the relationship is something special indeed.



The Queen and Prince Philip on 1976 U.S. tour [See Page 7]

Carter, Callaghan revive warm rapport

The term "special relationship" was revived by President Carter during British Prime Minister James Callaghan's visit to Washington in March. On the Prime Minister's return to London, identical statements were made in both houses of Parliament, in which the Prime Minister said: "The President spoke warmly of the special relationship between America and Britain, and it is my intention that the government should work closely with his administration."

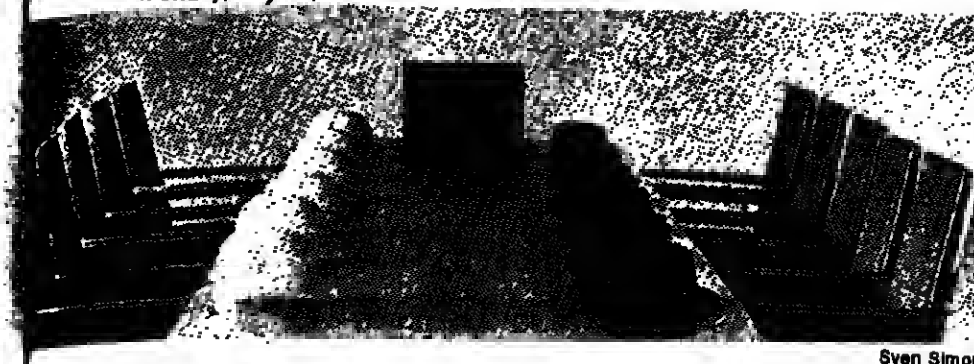
Responding to this statement, Lord Gore-Booth, the writer of the accompanying article, an independent member of the House of Lords and former head of Her Majesty's diplomatic service, said:

"My lords, I should like to join other noble lords in the expression of satisfaction and congratulation over the visit, and

the return once more to the special relationship. We live in a time when we do not claim a special relationship of power and wealth, as we perhaps sometimes did. But so many people on this side of the Atlantic have split so much ink and wasted so much breath saying that no special relationship exists, that I ask whether it is not very satisfactory to have this relationship restored to its proper proportion by the greatest authority on the matter in the world, the President of the United States?"

To which the government leader in the House of Lords, Lord Peart, replied:

"My lords, I am grateful for the comments of the noble lord, Lord Gore-Booth, who knows about the Foreign Office and international affairs as well as does any man in this house, and I personally agree very much with what he said."



Sven Simon

European Industry

France

Workers councils have existed since World War II. Corporate law allows companies with more than 2,000 employees to decide whether to introduce worker participation on boards. The voting system is weighted against elected union directors.

The Smith Barney study finds there is little support for worker-director legislation prior to March. Should a Socialist-Communist coalition with control of Parliament, their joint plan calls for nationalization of most key industries and a dominant role for workers in the industry remains in private hands.

The present coalition wins, small steps to worker participation on boards can be expected in 1978 and 1979, says Smith Barney.

Sweden

A new law that came into force Jan. 1 calls for worker directors for all companies with more than 100 employees. The worker directors have access to company accounts and other information about corporate decisions. The law gives unions the right to negotiate virtually all company policies on production, finances, organization, and working conditions. It effectively makes it impossible for management to hire and fire freely.

Management must negotiate all decisions with the unions at the plant level. If there is a dispute, the union's position prevails until a labor court makes a final decision.

Switzerland

All companies are required to pay into a fund that is used by the workers. The fund rises to 15 percent of the present bill, at least.

Unions have headed companies with more than 100 employees. In a "useful dialogue," is not common in the councils,

Last year the Swiss electorate voted in a national referendum against two proposals that would have permitted increased co-determination by workers. New legislation with milder proposals may be presented sometime later this year.

At present worker councils do exist but are not compulsory and their activities are limited to non-administrative matters.

In West Germany, throughout Scandinavia, and elsewhere in Western Europe, trade unions provide the base from which social democratic parties derive their strength. The AFL-CIO, while generally aligned with the Democratic Party, lacks such an organizational link.

Social welfare an offshoot

All-pervasive social welfare programs in Europe, including national health programs, owe much of their development to this legislative partnership between socialist parties and their affiliated unions.

In the United States, says Mr. Bluestone, unions are compelled to bargain collectively for benefits which, in Europe, come through the legislative process.

"The U.S.," he says, "has no national health insurance, so unions must bear the burden of negotiating health protection through collective bargaining."

American unions, says Mr. Bluestone, "bargain to supplement unemployment compensation programs that vary from state to state. Collective bargaining has to negotiate pension programs to supplement the weak social security program."

Seen in this light, co-determination plans in Europe, anchored in national laws guaranteeing workers a voice in decisionmaking, spring from the effort of powerful social democratic parties to move their nations beyond political democracy to what they call industrial democracy.

What about Britain, which has close ties between the governing Labour Party and the trade union movement? A recent royal commission, exploring the possibilities of worker participation in Britain, recommends, as a start, tripartite boards of directors, comprising management, labor and "independent" outside members.

"Unions leaders," says Terry Burns, a leading British economic forecaster, "see [in such boards] a way of increasing their power, so they favor it." But Mr. Burns finds little enthusiasm among rank-and-file workers.

ers on
board:
ity help
rance?

"In no way," says Mr. Burns, director of economic forecasting at the London Graduate School of Business Studies, "do British workers want to run their companies. They would simply have to hire managers," probably paying them more than company executives now get.

More than 100 U.S. firms have introduced the so-called Scanlon Plan, named after steelworker Joe Scanlon, who conceived the idea in the 1930s to draw management and workers closer together.

Specific plans differ from plant to plant. But common elements include a bonus system, based on gains in labor productivity, and a committee structure whereby ideas flow up and down the company chain of command.

Essentially, says Richard Ruch, vice-president for manufacturing of Herman Miller, Inc., a furnituremaking firm in Zeeland, Michigan, the Scanlon Plan "is a management strategy to involve everyone in the business." Each employee assumes "problem ownership" of his or her job.

Workers are elected to consult with management at two levels, the department level and the "zone level," meaning a periodic meeting with top management. Thus, says Mr. Ruch, "the Scanlon Plan is much more than a monthly bonus plan, though it is that also." (Herman Miller has paid 48 consecutive months of bonus.)

A majority of companies embracing Scanlon Plans are, like Herman Miller, nonunion. Some firms, concedes Mr. Ruch, adopt the plan to avoid having a union.

Many participating companies report, in addition to monthly bonuses, "substantially lower absenteeism," higher productivity, and better-quality products. Whatever its virtues, the Scanlon Plan is not co-determination in the European sense, because workers do not sit on boards of directors.

Effect on output questioned

The consensus seems to be, in nations visited by this reporter, that co-determination, however useful in ensuring labor peace, does not markedly contribute to higher productivity.

Few, looking at the postwar economic performance of nations like Sweden and West Germany, would argue that co-determination has put a brake on economic growth. Questions arise, however, about the implications of future extensions of "industrial democracy," particularly in Sweden.

Until January, 1977, Sweden's version of co-determination, called enterprise councils, which are made up of one-third each of management, white-collar, and blue-collar representatives, had only advisory powers.

Now, under a new law, the rights of trade unionists on enterprise councils are greatly strengthened. However, says Karl Olof Faxen, the employers' spokesman, "it will take a year to see how unions define their rights, how the new law shakes down."

Presumably Sweden's ownership structure will scarcely be affected by the new law. But the Meldner Plan, resulting from a study commissioned by a trade union group, would implement gradually transfer ownership of most Swedish companies to a central trade union fund, creating what Swedish industrialists call "trade union socialism."

Step-by-step union ownership

The plan would apply to all companies, except public bodies and consumer cooperatives, employing more than 50 persons. It would cover 75 percent of the Swedish labor force. Each year 20 percent of a firm's pretax profit would be transferred, through a special stock issue, into a "collective employee fund."

This nationwide system of local funds would be controlled by a central fund, administered by the trade unions.

Many social democrats, including union members, object to this centrality of control, claiming that the rights and decisionmaking powers of local trade unions would not be enhanced by the Meldner Plan.

In West Germany, Mitbestimmung now applies, under a law effective last July 1, to all German firms employing more than 2,000 persons — about 600 companies in all. Although this greatly expands the number of worker members on their boards, it does not change the accustomed pattern of worker-management relations in Germany.

Ironically, it was the British military government of the Ruhr, just after World War II, that decreed that the great German iron and steel firms of the region, the slavers of Hitler's war machine, would henceforth have worker representation on their boards. The idea was to curtail drastically the power of the Ruhr barons, without whose support the Nazis could not have gone to war.

Now Mitbestimmung forms a basic part of West Germany's amazing postwar economic success story, while the British, who started this whole thing, have so far rejected co-determination for themselves.

from page 1

★ Brezhnev

He would retain his own post as chief of state and his leadership of the Politburo.

His eventual aim: to retire as gracefully as possible, and by degrees, leave behind hand-picked men in key posts — men unlikely to let his own name suffer as those of Joseph Stalin and Nikita Khrushchev have done.

According to Mr. Louis, Mr. Podgorny can be expected to preside over the next half-yearly meeting of the Supreme Soviet June 18, then to offer the meeting his own resignation as chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium (the post that makes him chief of state).

The chairman's post (head of state) would remain vacant, Mr. Louis indicates, until the draft text of the constitution is ratified formally. That would be later this year.

In the interim the chief-of-state duties could be carried out by the heads of the various Soviet republics acting in rotation.

It is not known at this writing when the draft text of the new constitution will be published. It could be as early as Thursday (May 28): the evening May 25 edition of the government newspaper *Izvestia* was not appearing until the morning of the 28th. Such delays happen only in unusual and important circumstances. It might be because *Izvestia* will carry the text, along with Pravda, the party newspaper. But the text could be delayed until later in the year.

In any case diplomats think it likely the constitution will be ratified in time to allow Mr. Brezhnev to take over as chief of state before the huge celebrations planned for Nov. 7, the 60th anniversary of Lenin's 1917 revolution.

The Louis thesis does not rule out personal or policy differences between Podgorny and Mr. Brezhnev.

Western diplomats think it likely that such differences do exist. Pravda May 25 repeated the terse Tass announcement of the night before. Mr. Podgorny has been relieved of his duties as a member of the Politburo — without any references to "at his own request" or "for reasons of age or health," as was the case when Mr. Khrushchev left the scene and as it was for Anastas Mikoyan, Pyotr Shelest, and

Alexandr Sholepin.

It does seem, however, that Mr. Brezhnev is moving to arrange his succession himself, rather than reacting to any opposition bloc within the Politburo or the military.

Such opposition may of course exist. It may object to Mr. Brezhnev's policy of talking with the United States about arms control and other items.

But Western opinion here, now supported by Mr. Louis, tends to think Mr. Brezhnev, already in a dominant position, is moving to make himself even more unassailable before he retires.

Evidence cited by Mr. Louis in support of his version of events:

• The Central Committee meeting at which Mr. Podgorny was dropped dealt almost entirely with the new constitution, designed to replace the 1936 document of Stalin.

Specific reference was made in the official report of the meeting to a speech by Mr. Brezhnev that cited the constitutional development of fraternal socialist states. The most notable constitutional change in Yugoslavia, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Romania in recent years was to combine the top jobs.

• Combining the jobs is in line with a central thrust of the new constitution — adjusting the problems caused by the division between the party at all levels and the government bodies carrying out party decisions.

(Another proposed change in the works: striking references to Stalin from the Soviet national anthem. The anthem has not been sung since 1956, when Mr. Khrushchev denounced Stalin.)

Some analysts think Mr. Brezhnev might be running the risk of courting disaster by trying to take too much power.

These analysts think he could only take the chief-of-state job on the understanding in the Politburo that he steps down from real power soon after.

Other diplomats think Mr. Brezhnev is so obviously not another Stalin (he is thought to be a consensus man) that the concern does not apply in his case.

★ South Africa

Integrated one way or another, said in a major speech in Cape Town last week that Nationalist policies could evolve naturally in such a way that all races could have an effective share in decisionmaking.

For the first time he explicitly included

★ Oil

One match could do that if applied where Saudi oil goes down to the sea to enter the big tankers.

U.S. Treasury Secretary W. Michael Blumenthal also must have been thinking of that relationship between oil and prosperity on Wednesday (May 25) when he spoke to the international monetary conference meeting in Tokyo. He noted that the United States will probably run a \$20 billion to \$23 billion trade deficit this year due to rising oil imports. He called this deficit "a major contribution toward the stability of the international monetary system." But he also urged the main surplus countries which he identified as Japan, Germany, Switzerland, and the Netherlands to shift over from a surplus to a deficit position and thus join the United States in such a "contribution."

The Blumenthal speech underlines the dependence of the industrial countries on Arab oil and hence the importance to all of them of a settlement in the Middle East which would be acceptable to the royal family of Saudi Arabia. An advertisement placed by that royal family in this and other newspapers last week stressed "a very special relationship" between Saudi Arabia and the United States. The advertisement listed four features of that special relationship. The first of the four was identified as the two sharing responsibility "to help facilitate the reaching of a just and lasting settlement in the Middle East."

The advertisement appeared on the first day of the two-day Prince Fahd visit. The Saudis have made their point.

South Africa's political stepchildren, the Africans who live in the so-called white urban areas, as well as the Colored people (people of mixed racial descent) and the Asians.

[Dr. Koornhof was not specific about the degree of power-sharing envisioned. Minimally it might be no more than consultation between representatives of otherwise separate national or ethnic groups. Left unspecified, too, was whether the nonwhite groups would have effective power to limit white dominance in overall political decisions. But whatever the details, the proposals seem to make no concession to those who want South Africa to move in the direction of a unitary state where there is a central legislature elected on the basis of one-man-one-vote, regardless of race or ethnic origin.]

Dr. Koornhof's fellow politicians in the National Party have declined to comment on his suggestions, which were made at the opening of a conference of conservative academics on "intergroup accommodation in plural societies." The conference was sponsored jointly by the Foreign Affairs Association of South Africa and the Foundation of Foreign Affairs of America. But his proposals are certain to be hotly opposed by many fellow Nationalists as a dangerous concession to liberal thought.

This is because although Dr. Koornhof's interpretation is still rooted in the Nationalist concept that South Africa is a multinational state, and not a multiracial one, it introduces important new concepts of power-sharing to replace traditional Nationalist theories of the domination of the whole political machine by whites without any effective black involvement.

Although conservative Nationalists will be wary of this new line, Afrikaner academics and businessmen, and the younger generation of Afrikaners generally, are likely to welcome it.

Dr. Koornhof also will be likely to find strong support in the Cabinet from another young Cabinet minister, R. F. (Pik) Botha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

★ Wheels

first wheel was not a primitive truck but a primitive skateboard or unicycle for the tribe's artist-clown.

Paul Newman riding his bicycle in "Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid" — this is the essential spirit of the wheel: it is early morning — a shirt-sleeve morning — in the country. Nobody is there to watch but a few farm animals and a beautiful woman. It is Eden, revisited on wheels. Newman's dizzy, antic ride becomes a kind of celebration, a form of dance. Tiny man on his tiny wheel rides on the edge of the big wheel of the earth — wheels within all the cosmic wheels, turning, zigging, zagging, getting into the springtime rhythm of the universe, leaving live tracks like a message that reads: "Glad to be alive."

"Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid" is, of course, about a chase. Poses on horseback pursue the fugitives in a relentlessly straight line until finally they are cornered and destroyed. No place to run — no place to zig or zag, even on wheels. The bicycle ride makes

the perfect interlude: a moment of play, a circle to nowhere in the middle of that straight line.

On wheels one makes one's getaway (for the moment). To where? It doesn't matter so much. From where? Ah, that matters. One makes one's getaway from whatever is one's ultimate prison — perhaps, finally, the state of being earthbound.

A couple of millennia after the first wheel, the invention can still seem a miracle — a touch of poetry beyond belief. Nothing in the hard world should work so easily. Wheels are like an act of forgiveness.

And so, in the spring, people plant their vegetables, their fruits, their flowers. Then people climb on their wheels — one or two wheels at the most. Four wheels don't really count. And as the wheels spin and the earth moves beneath us, what we are saying is this: See? I'm not planted. I'm free.

At that first sensation of glide — half floating, half flight — we almost believe it.

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Richard L. Strout
Washington correspondent
The Christian Science Monitor



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Interview with Lee Strasberg

Cameras turn on Actors' Studio founder

By David Sterritt

New York
Strasberg, one of the world's leading authorities on acting.

After decades of coaching and teaching performers, Mr. Strasberg has lately been finding out firsthand what it's like to go before the movie camera, and thence before the eyes and ears of millions of moviegoers.

His screen debut took place at age 74 in "The Godfather Part 2," where he played underworld boss Hyman Roth.

This year finds him as an elderly concentration-camp survivor on a train threatened with disaster in "The Cassandra Crossing." Mr. Strasberg calls it "a straightforward action film, a picture-picture with a message."

The long Strasberg career started in 1920s New York, where he acted and directed for a few years. In 1930 he joined in founding the Group Theater, which attained near-legendary status with its many famous productions. Later, he became artistic director of the Actors Studio, the highly selective workshop that has generated more star-power than any similar venture: Marlon Brando, James Dean, Ellen Burstyn, Paul Newman, Marilyn Monroe, Al Pacino, Dustin Hoffman, Joanne Woodward. . . . The list goes on and on.

Today, Mr. Strasberg continues to write, lecture, and run the Actors' Studio and the Lee Strasberg Theater Institute. He is a grand old man of the arts — and a busy one at that.

Stepping into Mr. Strasberg's apartment is like stepping into Dickens's Old Curiosity Shop. Huge shelves and piles of books and records dominate everything, nearly obscuring the view of Central Park and the paintings, photos, and curiosities that fill every available nook.

Mr. Strasberg settles back somewhere between the antique photograph and the miniature tree and explains there are two main reasons for his decades of nonacting and his recent return to performing.

Mr. Strasberg left off active acting in 1934 because teaching "became something in which I had an original contribution to make. A major contribution — clarifying the problem of the actor, which has been misunderstood for more than 2,000 years. To put it simply, we have never been able to see acting from any age except our own. So how can we judge our styles and techniques? How can we know our memories of past works are correct?"

Not that Mr. Strasberg had an aversion to acting personally. "I never said no to a part when it was suggested, but I never went to it either, and it just never happened."

The catalyst that changed all this was Al Pacino, a long-time friend who suggested he teacher to Francis Ford Coppola for the "Godfather" role.

Mr. Strasberg accepted the part "because I wanted to check things out, to find out for myself if movie acting was a worthwhile experience. I thought, if it is, I'll do it again. If it doesn't work, no one will notice. It was a real surprise when the part got so much response. Until that happened, I hadn't known there was so much to lose. If I had known, I wouldn't have had the nerve to do it!"

Later he accepted the "Cassandra Crossing" role to show that he wasn't a one-shot success, that he could do a variety of roles, and that he wasn't really a mobster. (He discovered he was so convincing in his screen debut that some spectators confused him with the role he played.)

"Besides, I enjoy acting," he admits with a smile. "It's a relief from working with other people, which is work. After all, I can't argue with myself or give myself a hard time. And it's a new thing to experience for myself that the film actor is helpless against some things — unless he knows what will be done in the editing, which he never knows."

Mr. Strasberg emphasizes there are differences between screen and stage acting. "In film the director can create a performance that does not exist, or ruin one that does exist. There are moments of my 'Cassandra' role that I miss, because the camera was looking elsewhere when I did them. Onstage you're in sight all the time; the eye of the beholder is like shooting with three or four cameras together, and seeing it all at the same time without interruption.

"That's why theater is a different kind of immediate experience. I'm not sure we're sufficiently aware these days as to what would be lost if theater was lost. After a certain point, a theater experience exists only in the memory of man. It's written in snow, which melts. . . . Yet film is equally valid as art. Movies are one of the great artistic discoveries of mankind. What is done with a medium should not be used to discredit the medium itself. And anyway, I don't like comparisons that downgrade or upgrade one art against another."

The main claim to fame of Mr. Strasberg and the Actors' Studio is associated with the Method — a systematic way of focusing and forming the actor's art. Though it has some forceful detractors — including such a famous performer as George C. Scott and many critics who call it self-indulgent — it has become a highly respected approach to the methodical madness that is theater.

people/places/things



Strasberg: a chance to practice what he's been preaching

"I don't think the Method is anything special or unusual," says Mr. Strasberg. "It is nothing more than [Russian dramatist] Stanislavsky's discovery — not theory — of certain things about acting, by observation and by checking things in himself. Like you experiment in science, he investigated what actors do when they're acting well."

"Before the Method, it seemed that the greater acting was, the less control there was. It seemed to be based only on inspiration. Nobody knew what helped the actor achieve that moment of inspiration. Like Columbus or an Einstein, Stanislavsky set out to solve this problem, which is most severe for the actor since he works in front of other people. Stanislavsky observed; he defined procedures and exercises that would train these faculties. But he didn't make anything up. Columbus didn't make America up. He discovered it."

Mr. Strasberg sees his own function as "clarifying, and showing what Stanislavsky really found. He was not a thinker, he had no real knowledge of the other arts. He was very concrete. We carry on his work — trying to define what is the talent you train, and what makes a great performance great. We have learned little from books, and have been reminded in our own writing. But who cares what anybody says? Who cares what Stanislavsky said? We check everything to make sure it works — and if it doesn't work on the stage, what does it matter?"

Defending the Method, Strasberg points out that audiences — not theorists or partisans — have made the success of Actors' Studio veterans from Karl Malden and Robert De Niro to Paul Steiger and Geraldine Page and so many others.

"They have a distinctive quality that makes them stand out. Their work seems spontaneous, not as if they were reciting or 'speaking well.' They seem to be speaking like you and me, they don't seem to be acting. That's the strange thing. Sometimes it seems so natural they don't get enough credit. Often our actors are confused with their parts. . . ."

Now that he is acting again Strasberg would be happy to take more good screen roles, in addition to carrying on his teaching work. The great advantage of film acting is that "you do it and it's done. It doesn't interfere with my major work of defining the actor's problem, or my major contribution of training actors. In theater you have to keep doing it night after night."

Yet theater retains the highest place of honor in his heart. "Acting on screen can be as great as on stage, but onstage the high quality is obligatory, it can't be faked. That's why stage work is still the primary training. Our people go easily from stage to screen or TV, but you can't automatically go the other way. And of course, you don't have that basic difficulty in the movies — the need to repeat. So the stage gives a truer image of your capacity."

Conventional wisdom thrown to the winds — and floats

By Ward Morehouse III
Staff writer of
The Christian Science Monitor

The saying "It went over like a lead balloon" has been proved to be a lot of hot air.

Lead balloons fly very well, in fact, maybe too well, as two out of three history-making lead balloons launched May 18 by employees of Arthur D. Little, Inc. (ADL), showed.

Up, up, and unintentionally away soared the first lead balloon flight-tested, after it broke its string tether.

The 8-by-14-foot cement mixer-shaped contraption, filled with helium and covered with lead foil only a quarter as thick as a human hair, was last seen at an altitude of 4,000 feet by a Delta Airlines pilot flying over Boston's Logan Airport.

As soon as the balloon broke its string tether, someone at ADL called the Federal Aviation Administration. The agency issued an alert and "the last report was that it was out over the ocean and going down," said its spokesman, Michael Ciccarelli.

A world apart from Charles A. Lindbergh's milestone Atlantic crossing almost 50 years ago to the day, the flight of the "lead" zepp-

lin" and the two other lead balloons were merely ADL employee larks to prove that even lead balloons can fly.

Company chemists, product development experts, and even a librarian devoted hours and hours after work designing and testing together the oddities.

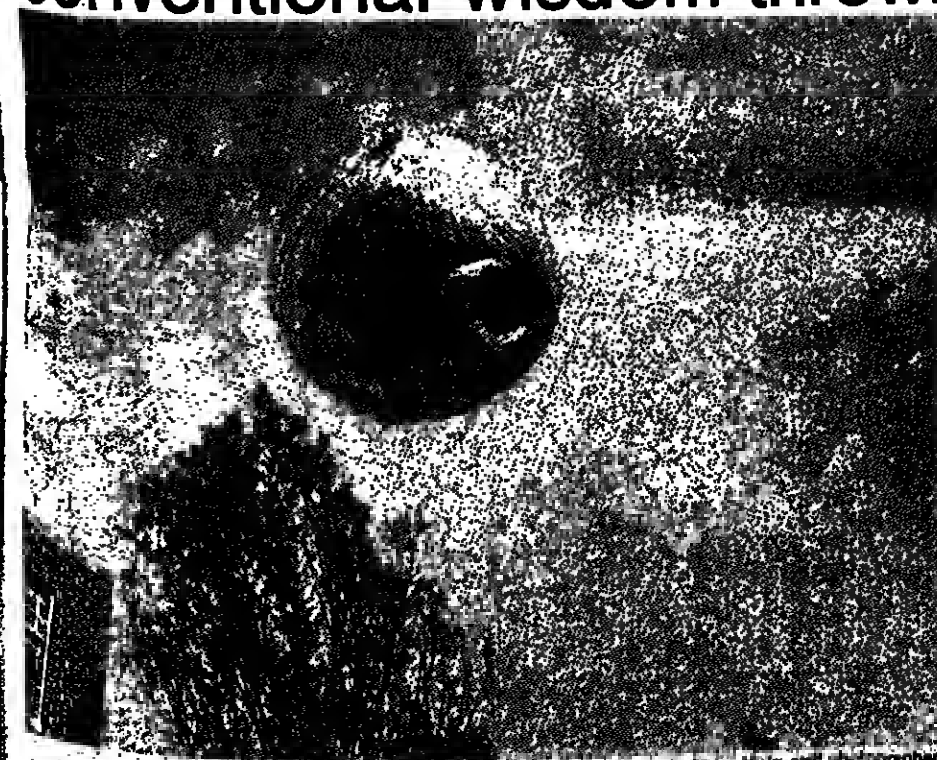
After the balloon punctured lead balloon preconceptions, the next balloon tested did "go over like a lead balloon." It climbed a couple of yards, but the wind ripped open the fleshy, cube-shaped blob and plopped it back to earth.

The third balloon tested was an eight-foot-diameter sphere lined with special netting to keep it round. The same thing happened to it as to the first balloon.

"We wanted to get it up a little higher and the string broke," said Steve Rudolf, one of the ADL staffers responsible for the sphere. It was reported to have landed in East Cambridge soon after takeoff.

The three lead balloons were "an amazing triumph of engineering technology over common sense," quipped ADL president John F. Massa.

But Derek Tull, ADL vice-president in charge of product development, said in a slightly more serious vein: "We feel fairly confident that there is no Russian lead balloon."



Going over, unlike a lead balloon — will cement clouds be next?

home



Sketches by Ann Matthews

For summer patios put plants on logs, tables, or tubs, in barrels or baskets, or hang them high

Where pot plants hang out in summer

By Marilyn Hoffman
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

It's that time of year — time for outdoor pot gardening. Time for greening up city balconies and terraces. Time for plopping plants on patios, porches, and at poolside. Time to think about interesting and ingenious containers for that multitude of pots, to think in terms of decoration and whimsy and sheer delight.

Our sketch artist, Ann Matthews, went foraging through garden shops, nurseries, craft

outlets, pottery barns, hardware, and dime stores, and came up with this assortment of ideas for enhancing pots.

She liked the idea of putting pots on old wire cable spools, tree stumps, and tiered steps that one can make oneself. She liked the Mexican painted terra cotta pots that can be bought so reasonably in markets and bazaars. And the Italian pots that are more expensive, but just as appealing.

Our artist found that various sized logs, with bark on or peeled off, could make interesting pedestals for plants around a patio. And that a

slab of tree trunk, 8 or 10 inches high, would always make a fitting showplace for colorful pots of primroses or geraniums.

She found barrels of all sizes, for planting good-sized trees and flowering bushes. She saw them used full size, or cut in half. The barrel she bought for herself cost \$25. Many nurseries which sell the trees also sell the barrels. They recommend two or three sacks of rich soil planting mix for each large barrel, placed on a lining of stones or pieces of broken flower pot for proper drainage.

If you buy a plant from a nursery in its usual one-gallon size bucket, try dropping the bucket at once into a straw-textured basket and feel the thrill of instant decorating.

If you need long, large containers for quick-growing vines to cover iron balcony guards, or fences, look at the many poured-concrete forms that are available.

Buy bricks and boards to make them tiered steps. Buy wicker and redwood stools, benches, and containers. Think about plastic Parsons tables from the dime store or discount house, stacked one on top of another, or used singly to hold many plants.

Inspect garden shops or craft outlets for those clay pots which hang at staggered lengths, from rope, wire, leather, or macramé.

If you want to be a little fanciful, choose a terra cotta turtle, chicken, snail, frog, or duck. These playful planters range in price from about \$5 to \$15 and they can produce a smile, as well as a plant. Plastic pipes and clender blocks can be used effectively to hold other pots.

What do you do with this array if you have to move?

If plants can't go along, artist Matthews suggests a garage "plant and pot" sale. She knows a few neighbors who have doubled their money when they sold healthy, flourishing plants that were set off in clever containers.

Chicken wings
good appetizers

Miniature drumsticks, made by broiling chicken wings with a coating of banana, orange juice and currant jelly make for good eating, perfect for appetizers or for a light snack.

The wings are cut at the joint and the meaty part used for the appetizer. Save the wing tips to make a delicious chicken soup or stock to use as a base for soups and gravies.

Miniature Drumsticks

2 pounds chicken wings
Salt
Pepper
½ cup mashed ripe bananas (2 medium)
¼ cup orange juice
¼ cup currant jelly

Cut away tip of chicken wings at first joint; reserve for soup or stock. Cut re-

MONITOR
RECIPE

maining wing sections at center joint, and arrange on shallow baking pan; sprinkle with salt and pepper. Broil until browned, about 5 minutes on each side. Meanwhile prepare glaze.

Mix mashed bananas, orange juice, and currant jelly. Spread on broiled chicken pieces. Broil 3 to 5 minutes, until well browned. Turn, baste with glaze, and broil 3 to 5 minutes longer. Serve warm. Makes about 24 appetizers.

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Play with
a whale
and make
a friend

Photos and text
by R. Norman Matheo
Staff photographer of
The Christian Science Monitor

Laguna San Ignacio, Baja California

As the 35-ton mother whale and her one-ton calf playfully shoved, nudged, rolled against, and splashed our skiff one of the vessel's excited passengers exclaimed, "Wow! This is better than a movie."

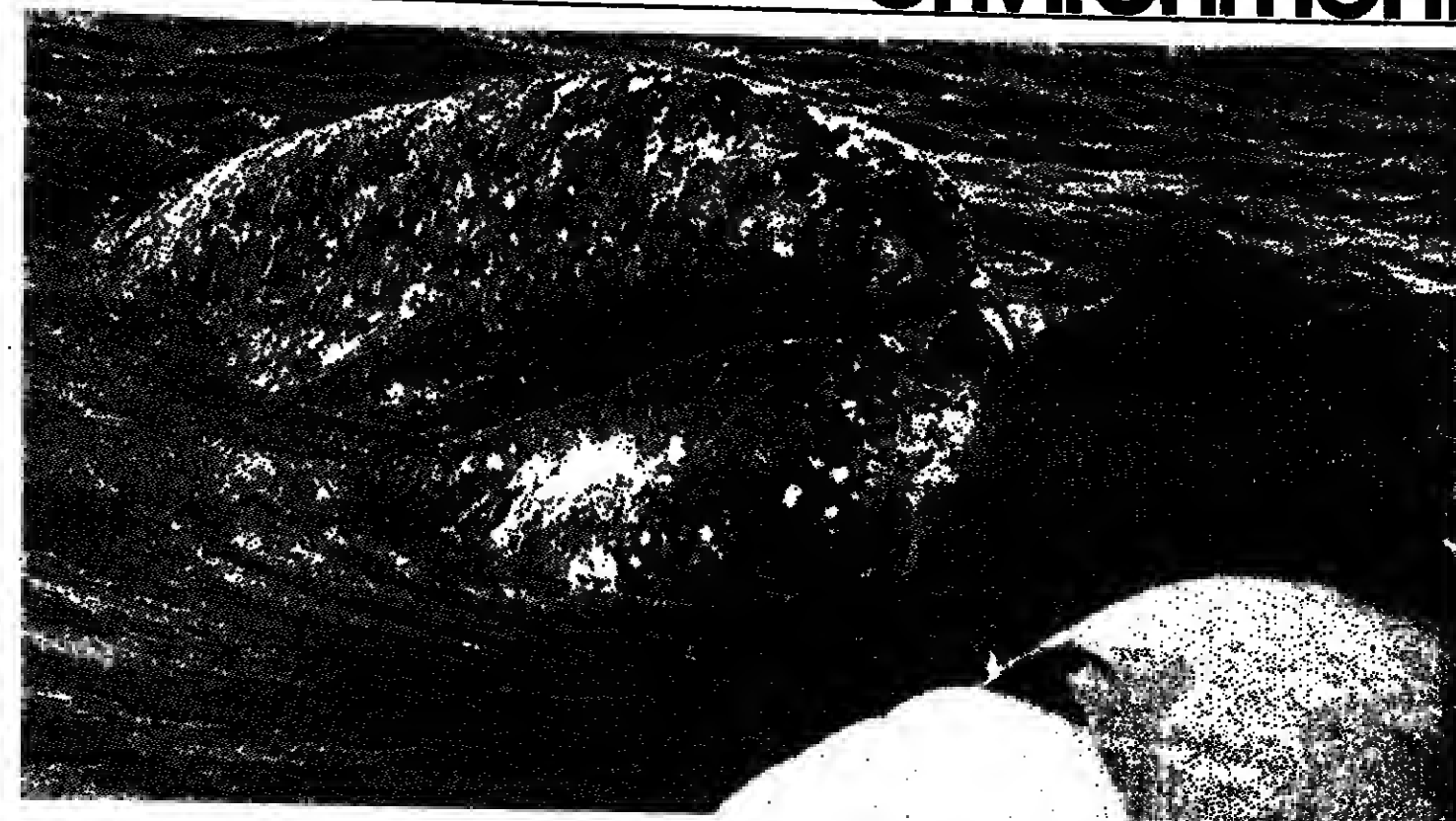
That was quite an understatement for one very sophisticated fifth-grader, Tommy Fuhrman, from Los Angeles.

"We just came to play," said his father, as we all grabbed our seats for support when the boat jolted from another gentle flip of her enormous tail.

We were seven human toys in life jackets, the playthings of some very friendly whales.

Our cue came when suddenly the frolic would pause and the tip of a great head would emerge near the boat. It would stay up for only a moment, and our touches were always brief, but it would keep coming back.

"Oh! It feels kinda rubbery," grinned Jerri Sober, a vacationing employee of the University of California. She glanced at her hand in the wonder of it.



Whale nuzzles up to boat to greet visitors

The gray whale, *Eschrichtius robustus*, migrates annually more than 10,000 miles from its feeding grounds between Siberia and Alaska to breed and calve in these warm Mexican lagoons.

This was an annual tour by members and guests of the American Cetacean Society, a group formed to study and protect marine mammals. Our base of operations and home for a week was the 95-foot "Searcher," a luxury fishing boat on off-season assignment.

The group had been hopeful of a repetition of

friendly whale activity, noted for the first time by whale watchers in the lagoons last year. In cautious tone, Richard C. Matthews, national president of the society commented, "We don't fully understand this, they seem to want to be touched."

Whatever the explanation, more than half of the 32 participants in the expedition had touched a whale at least once by the end of the day.

This whale activity had never before involved such frequent contact with so many boats during a lengthy period. Previously, brief

encounters were noticed mainly around 2 p.m. and not daily, according to marine scientist Stephen Swartz, who heads a research team which lived in tents here during the whales' visit.

Whale-watching can be done December through March, either on day trips as the whales migrate along the coast or on one-week excursions while they linger in the lagoons.

General information is available in the fall from the San Diego Convention and Visitors Bureau, 1200 Third Ave., San Diego, California, 92101.



With a flip of his tail, a whale dives under the skiff

arts/books

U.S. promotes British art

By Diana Loecherer

New Haven, Connecticut

Yale University really doesn't need more prestige than it already has, but this spring it added even more luster to its illustrious reputation with the opening of the Yale Center for British Art. The center, designed by the late Louis Kahn, houses and hosts the largest collection of British painting, prints, drawings, and rare illustrated books outside England.

Yale owes this stunning acquisition to the largesse of alumnus Paul Mellon (Class of '29), who bestowed upon his alma mater with this collection the honor of becoming the primo repository of British culture in the United States.

Edmund Pillsbury, director of the center, emphasized at the press preview that "this is really not just an art museum. The importance of this opening is not just the opening of another museum. This is also a research institution and foundation involved in the promotion of British art seen in its broadest context - literary, social, and historical. The design reflects its dual function as a public gallery and a research center."

The educational commitment of the center is borne out by its extensive study facilities: an art reference library, a photo archive, and a painting study gallery. To supplement its regular program of changing exhibitions, which will treat history and literature as well as art, the center is planning educational events and cooperation with schools and universities to the area. It also offers grants through its London affiliate, the Paul Mellon Center for Studies in British Art. Thus, the center proposes to serve scholar and layman alike with programs that cater to the interests of each and the pockets of both: Admission is free.

But there would be no education for anyone without the collection, and that, of course, is the core of the center's existence. Begun by Mr. Mellon about 30 years ago, the collection reflects his predilection for country life and casual pursuits and presents a less formal image of British art than the stereotype to which one is accustomed. Its quality is staggering as is its sheer volume - 1,750 paintings, 5,900 prints, 7,000 drawings, and 30,000 rare books. The paintings alone include 100 works by Constable, 42 by Hogarth, 41 by Gainsborough, 35 by Stubbs, and 70 by Turner.

Of course, the works themselves are the true index of the quality of a collection, and one finds on the fourth-floor galleries an unusual proportion of "great" paintings, particularly in that rich period of British art from the birth of Hogarth to the death of Turner (1687-1851). There are, in fact, entire rooms devoted to the great British painters where one confronts such masterpieces as Turner's "View of Dordrecht," Constable's "Heddligh Castle," Hogarth's "Beggars' Opera," and Stubbs's "Portrait of Turf."



Part of the magnificent Paul Mellon collection

Curator of paintings Malcolm Cormack, who came to the center from the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, England, commented that one of the biggest surprises of the collection was its range, which verges on the kaleidoscopic. In addition to the inevitable Gainsboroughs, Turners, and Reynolds, it includes paintings by foreign artists who exerted significant influence on the development of British art, such as Rubens, van Dyck, and Canaletto, and paintings from comparatively unfamiliar periods, such as the Elizabethan and the Jacobean. There is even some fine sculpture - busts of Alexander Pope and Lord Chesterfield, for example.

Mr. Cormack arranged 250 paintings chronologically in the main gallery to "survey the whole development of British art," and they succeed with admirable succinctness. Approximately 800 to 900 more paintings can be viewed in the study galleries, which embrace the main gallery. Hung one above the other in the traditional manner of European museum installation, they fit together like a jigsaw puzzle.

Part of the credit for the magnificence of the museum is due to architect Kahn. He designed what appears from the outside to be a stern, contemporary steel-and-glass structure but which on the inside features characteristics of the traditional museum. The galleries wrap around two interior courts, thus permitting a visitor on the fourth floor to look across to the galleries on the other side or below and catch glimpses of paintings or people framed within the open bays. Similarly, one comes suddenly upon occasional windows on the outside which present the expanse of the world as relief from the concentration of the gallery.

The second innovation, which actually harks back to bygone days, is the natural light on the fourth floor, achieved by a roof slatted with skylights.

On the third floor (through July 17) one finds one of the center's two inaugural exhibitions, "English Landscape 1650-1850," which consists of 228 drawings, watercolors, prints, and books organized by guest curator Christopher White, director of studies of the Mellon Center in London.

Novelist Jhabvala's stories: distinguished by sense and sensibility

How I Became a Holy Mother, by Ruth Praver Jhabvala. New York: Harper and Row. \$3.95. London: John Murray, £3.95.

By Victor Hovey

If the wit laughs at others and is dry of eye, the humorist laughs at others, his eyes moist with self-recognition. Ruth Praver Jhabvala must be included among the humorists.

Again and again in these nine short stories she shows us to ourselves with a laughter that is born of compassion. The Indian land may be mountainous and given to monsoons, Indian customs may involve child-marriage and the chanting of mantras, but under our protective colorations we are all one. Change but the names - the story is told about you. Blackmail, infidelity, heartbreak, simple childlike love, unselfish giving, all transcend national boundaries.

There is the fat, egotistical maestro with important political connections, who selfishly deprives his wife of the pleasure of attending her niece's wedding, but whose singing still fills her with wonder and delight.

There is the patient, long-suffering shopgirl, who supports her never-do-well husband, borrows money from her former mistress to pay his bail, endures humiliation and neglect, yet continues to love her man for the dreams he dreams and the comical stories he tells her when he does come home.

There is an Indian Anna Karenina, who forgets her adoring husband for the coarse attentions of an adventurous Superintendent of Police. With what attendant suffering!

This is a truly exemplary volume, delving as it does into the hearts and minds of its characters, yet respecting the central mystery of every heart. That its author is not herself Indian born, but is Polish and Jewish and married to an Indian architect, only increases the reader's admiration. Ruth Praver Jhabvala is the author of seven novels. In 1975 her novel "Heat and Dust" won England's prestigious Booker Award.

As a writer of short stories she suggests

Chekhov rather than De Maupassant, Katherine Mansfield rather than Somerset Maugham. Her stories do not snap shut like a trap or a trick box, they open outward from a narrow angle in the wall, to look across a broadening landscape.

They tell with humor and sadness of am-

orous quarrels, friendly half-pullings, parental scoldings, of painful bondage and hard-won emancipation. Wherever there is a cross-rail of feeling, a contest of conflicting rights, a mixture of blessings, Ruth Jhabvala is there, exploring it with sense and a fine human sensibility.

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travel

The Lakes of Killarney by jaunting car

By Kimmis Hendrick
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Dublin

Ireland's "Radio Train" from Dublin to the Lakes of Killarney is a fine one-day train tour, a family frolic. We were entertained with a running commentary of scenery, interspersed with jokes about the Irish by the Irish. We even listened to John McCormick records. The two meals (lunch and high tea) served were much better than usual train fare.

And between the trip across the island and the one back, there's time for a jaunting-car ride along the lakes.

Jaunting suggests juggling, and an Irish horse-drawn jaunting car is a jiggling vehicle with four seats back of the driver, two on each side, back to back. Some jaunting cars - those with crosswise seats - also have tops.

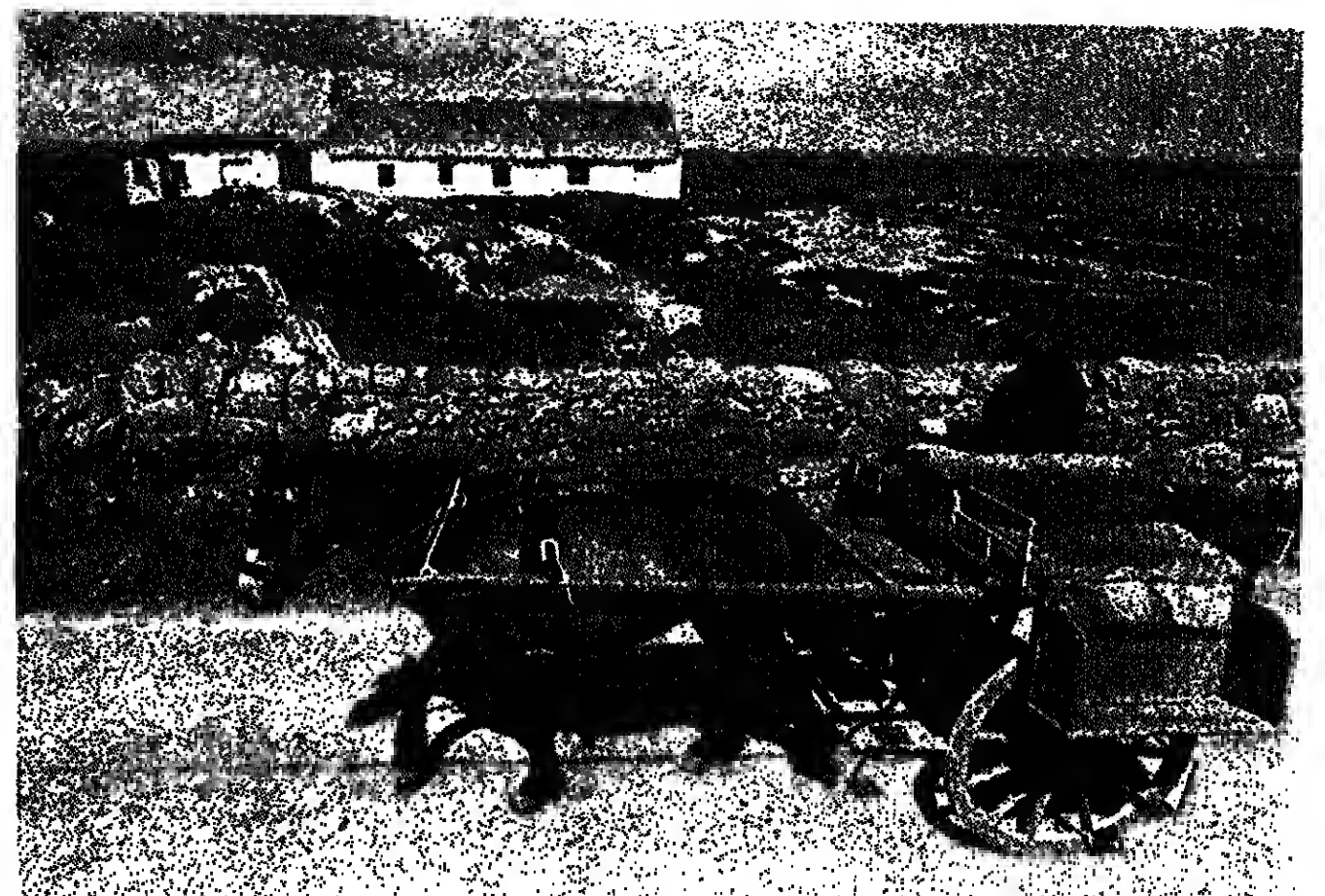
Ireland is one of the greenest places in the world; hence we weren't that surprised when, minutes after we boarded our jaunting car, the rain started. The driver, a friendly sort, quickly tucked blankets around us, and off we went in a down-pour.

But in 15 minutes the sun came out, and everything sparkled and shimmered. It was two hours before rain came again, and that gave us just enough time to see the crystal Lakes of Killarney and catch a glimpse of the Ring of Kerry, a coastal drive of striking splendor. To do the area justice, two days, at least, are needed.

After our ride we had another hour to wander around the agreeable village of Killarney. We visited a well-kept Protestant church chock-full of local history, shopped for postcards in a teeming gift shop, and bought apples in a grocery.

Then back on the train for another voyage across Ireland's greenery.

Other similar train tours are available in Ireland, including



A jaunting car is not just for tourists

By a staff photographer

one that goes from Dublin to Galway. The visitor can buy tickets for all trains at the railway's office in central Dublin. Allowing for inflation, the complete Killarney trip costs just \$18. Book ahead if you can.

Many visitors prefer to rent automobiles and make the Killarney trip on their own. Roads are good, the drive is delightful, and you can stay as long as you want. Some people even do the trip by rented caravan with horse included.

Harbor cruises: the carefree way to see Sydney

By Jeffrey Robinson
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Sydney, Australia

Sydney is surrounded by one of the world's most splendid harbors. And the best way to understand what Sydney is all about is by taking a harbor tour. Boats leave Circular Quay on regular schedules throughout the day, taking 2½ to 3 hours for the round trip from Harbour Bridge to the point where the channel runs into the sea.

Harbour Bridge is to Sydney what the Golden Gate is to San Francisco. Its arch rises 440 feet above the water, spanning nearly three miles. It is not until you turn around to see the famous Opera House framed in your viewfinder by the bridge that the tour guide tells you that you are not as clever a photographer as you think. He claims that this view is possibly the most photographed in all of Australia.

That Opera House, even in photographs not framed by the bridge, is still a topic of conversation; it has been controversial since the day it was designed more than 20 years ago. The five-and-a-half-acre site protruding into the harbor contains four performing halls, numerous reception rooms, restaurants, lounges, and recording-rehearsal studios, plus a major exhibition hall.

Half of Sydney thinks it is spectacular and a huge success. The other half thinks it is a much-too-expensive-to-maintain square and therefore a failure. Yet all of Sydney agrees that it must be seen.

Except for the Opera House, the harbor itself has changed little since Captain Cook dropped anchor there in 1770 or from the time, 18 years later, when Captain Arthur Phillip landed with 750 prisoners to settle Sydney Cove to Port Jackson. Australians are very fond of telling visitors, "Our ancestors were sent here by some of Britain's finest judges!"

There are, of course, many more houses along the 160-mile shoreline than there were 200 years ago. But at a point called

the Rock, on the western shore of Sydney Cove, one finds Australia's answer to Colonial Boston or Philadelphia. The houses are Georgian and Victorian, with stone archways and cobblestone courtyards.

In the middle of the harbor is Fort Denison - once a prison, now a tide-measuring station and picnic spot. It is the ideal landing point to see Sydney's skyline and the thousands of sail and motor boats that fill the harbor. It is an equally good place from which to admire the mansions that line the shore. All have private docks, a few have helicopter pads, and one even has an elevator from the lush waterside lawn up to the perfectly garden terraces.

Then, too, the harbor's inlets and coves hide their own secrets such as seafood restaurants and open-air fish markets, explorables early in the morning or late in the afternoon via the shuttle-boats that leave Circular Quay every few minutes for specific locations along the harbor. These are not tour boats, but commuter ferries, and one of the most interesting ones takes you to Manly.

The locals say Manly is only seven miles from Sydney but "thousands of miles from care." There are four ocean beaches, six harbor beaches, and eight public swimming-pools scattered around this popular suburban Sydney resort. The main street, The Corso, leads from the ferry wharf to the ocean, and gift buying there is less expensive than at the

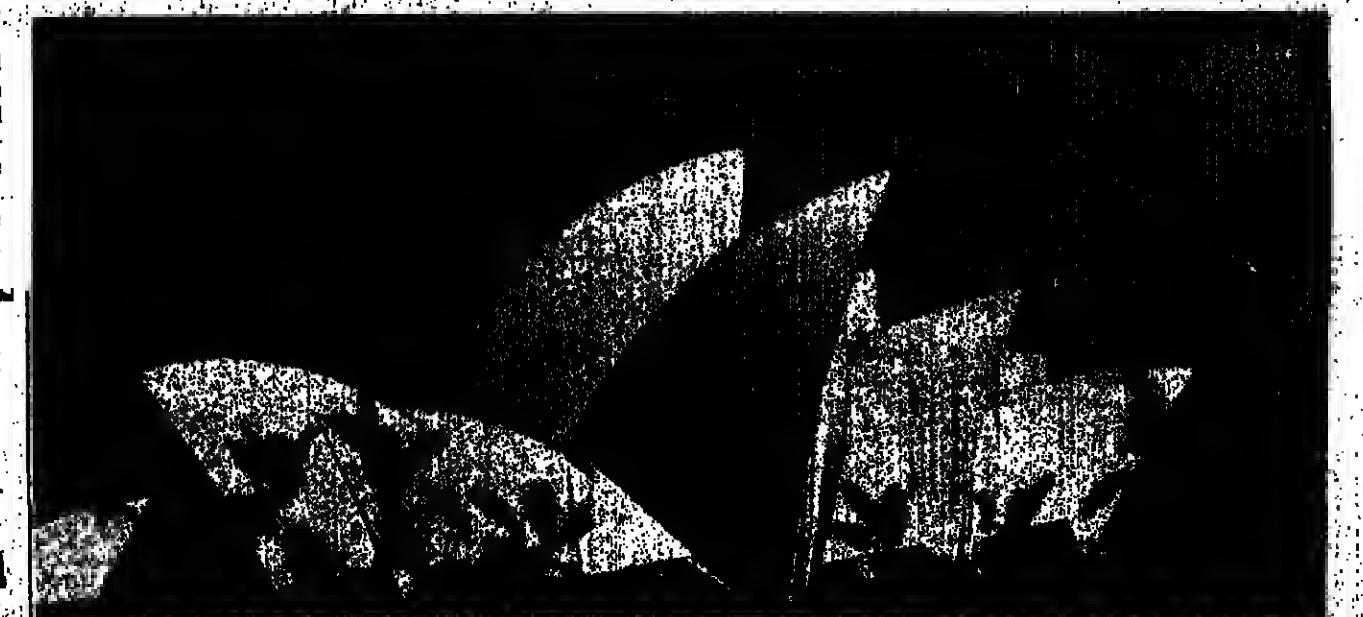
souvenir shops in Sydney. At Manly there is a slightly terrifying but very fascinating Shark Aquarium, with close-ups of the real things, including a variety known as Port Jackson sharks which infest Sydney Harbour.

Another ferry from Circular Quay goes to Taronga Zoo, which appropriately abounds with kangaroos, koala bears, and platypuses.

The best guides to the city are the free weekly publications "This Week in Sydney" and "The Sydney Tourist Guide." They are available everywhere and offer up-to-date information on downtown walking tours as well as excursions to residential Paddington, Double Bay, and the African Lion Safari at Warriamba Dam. There are additional hints on restaurants, shopping, museums, concerts, and the theater.

Hotels are best booked in advance, but can be arranged with no real trouble even in high season of the airport tourist office. Prices vary greatly, although the King's Cross section of town is the most colorful, resembling London's Soho. Double rooms are in the \$35 a night range. Center city rooms are higher. Furnished flats and cottages with kitchens are advised for stays of a week or longer.

Detailed information may be obtained through the New South Wales Government Travel Center at 18 Spring Street, Sydney.



Sydney Opera House: it must be seen

'Jabberwocky'

By David Sterritt

Britain's Terry Gilliam - late of Monty Python's Flying Circus - has made another monster mash, "Jabberwocky."

The tone is wildly and noisily comic as a giant creature terrorizes the medieval countryside, giving our dopey hero a chance to become celebrated and win the girl he loves. Much of the humor is stupidly vulgar, however, and is delivered at a single screaming pitch that makes it seem more offensive yet. Apart from some isolated funny one-liners, "Jabberwocky" accomplished nothing more than make me wish for a return engagement of the far more clever "Monty Python and the Holy Grail," which had its own problems of taste but displayed a finely manic sense of fun.

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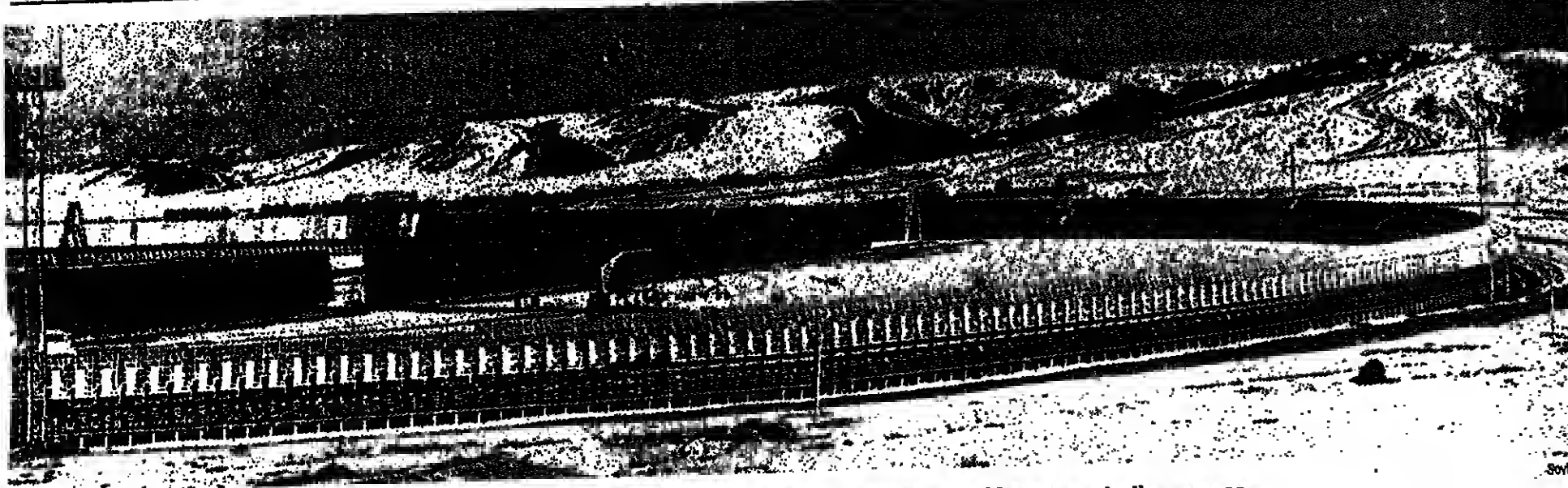
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science



Giant RATAN 600 radio telescope in North Caucasus: cocking an ear to the cosmos

Soviets search the Milky Way for 'super-civilizations'

By Kenneth W. Gatlund
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Using the most advanced radiotelescopes, Soviet scientists plan to probe the Milky Way for signs of very advanced machine-based "super-civilizations."

A broad-based search program is being coordinated between leading radio astronomers and physicists and the Moscow Institute of Space Research.

Dr. Nikolai Kardashev, who heads one of the research teams, believes civilizations elsewhere may have tapped the energy of their own suns to solve their energy problems on a massive scale.

If so they will have begun to colonize neighboring space and will be pumping out enormous quantities of energy which should be detectable on Earth.

Soviet scientists are said to be making detailed maps of the radio sky as a means of pinpointing likely sources of extraterrestrial intelligence.

Radio map drafted

The Shernberg Institute and the Institute of Space Research are compiling a radio map in the 3.5 centimeter wavelength. This work, begun in 1970 with the 22-metre dish in the Crimea, is now to be continued with the giant RATAN 600 radio telescope, which has just become fully operational in the North Caucasus.

The Russians consider the RATAN an optimal instrument in the search for intelligent signals. Dr. Kardashev favors seeking monochromatic or pulsed signals from the center of the Galaxy and from the nuclei of other galaxies and quasars.

He advocates making a search for "new objects in the least-explored parts of the electromagnetic spectrum." The RATAN

Guatemalans get language help

Almost half the children in Guatemala do not speak Spanish at home; instead they speak one of 25 dialects.

This language difficulty has, according to recent UNESCO studies, been a main source of in-school failure for nearly half of all the children who start school.

At present a program is under way that appears to be making a considerable difference for youngsters in school.

Assistant teachers have been recruited who speak a dialect, and also Spanish, and are identified as potential leaders in their communities.

Before they start their work as assistant teachers, they have a two-month training session.

There are now 360 such teachers, and their results are strong. More and more children are staying in school and are being promoted to the next grade.

600 will be used to survey the entire range from 4 millimeters to 20 centimeters in which there is a minimum of natural interference impeding observation of cosmic sources.

The program, says Dr. Kardashev, seeks "super-civilizations" which ought to command transmitters far more powerful than ours which could be engaged in advance forms of astro-engineering activity. They would be detectable over cosmic distances through thermal radiation.

Dr. Kardashev is apparently interested in a point source (smaller than our solar system) responsible for a short-wave emission from the center of the Galaxy and to several infrared sources nearby.

Searching the universe

Dr. Kardashev and his colleague Dr. Lev Gindilis have also made searches for radio pulses of short duration with large intervals between pulses which they consider one of the most probable types of signals of artificial origin.

The project, begun in 1972, led to the setting up of small receiving stations free of local interferences and spaced 1,600 miles apart in the mountains of the North Caucasus and in the Pamirs.

Identical apparatus was used to pick up all radio signals from the sky in the 35-95 centimeter waveband and all signals of 0.1 to 10 seconds duration were registered at both sites between Sept. 5 and Oct. 25.

Signals recognized

When the recordings were processed several types of correlating signals were found and further analysis showed that one type of signal came from an artificial satellite. Another could be traced to the sporadic radio emission of the Sun and the ionosphere.

So the net was enlarged. Six receiving stations were set up on land in the Soviet Far East, the Crimea, near Murmansk and near Gorky and one aboard the research ship Akademik Kurchatov anchored in the Atlantic near the equator.

And to allow scientists to rule out signals from low-orbiting Earth satellites, the Institute of Space Research in 1973 set up another receiving station on the Kamchatka Peninsula, some 5,000 miles away from the station in the North Caucasus. The two stations operated in conjunction from Dec. 15, 1973 to Feb. 28, 1974.

Such a long baseline ruled out signals from low-flying satellites but not from those in higher orbits. Dr. Kardashev believes that a receiver in geo-stationary orbit 22,300 miles above the equator would make these experiments much more effective.



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education

Free University of Berlin: revolution takes a back seat

By David Mutch
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Prof. Eberhard Laemmert, who likes to wear turtlenecks and tweeds, has taken on a job that is hardly for casual people. He is the new president of the Free University of Berlin, an institution with the reputation of being the political university's political university.

If Berkeley had a student revolt, the Free University of Berlin had a revolution in the late '60s and early '70s. But since its founding in 1948, when students and assistant professors were given a voice in running the university in an unheard-of break with European tradition, it has been a leader in modernizing the university system in Germany and putting it more in touch with the education-hungry middle class.

Professor Laemmert, who took office late last November, was a candidate of the leftist group at the university. But he told this newspaper in an interview:

"This institution has had a lot of polarization, and that has damaged it. True, we have had reforms. But we have also learned that bringing democracy to a university doesn't mean it can be run like a parliament. A standing opposition within an institution of learning and research harms it. I see my job as loosening up the factions, getting them less polarized. But the flood of new students we have to cope with may slow up this work of finding more balance."

Professor Laemmert was teaching at the Free University when it had its most violent revolts in 1967-68 and he had some of the student activists in his seminars. He is a specialist in German language and literature. He left Berlin after the period of unrest and has taught and done his research at the University of Heidelberg since then. He studied for a semester at Princeton and lectured at other universities in the United States.

He replaces Rolf Kreibich, who was elected president of the Free University in 1969 as a 30-year-old assistant professor. The Social Democrat government in West Berlin had at that time just passed a new university law that set up the presidential system, giving professors, assistant professors, and students each a third of the votes in the selection process.

Mr. Kreibich completely reorganized the faculties, breaking five faculties into 24, and made extensive changes in curricula.

The polarization that occurred just before and after his election would have startled a politicized U.S. professor. Professors resigned, many transferred. Three groups formed which continue to this day, a left, a center, and a right. Professors' assistants, students, and employees were involved.

Marxists argued and still do that a university is a microcosm of society and must be completely democratized. They wanted to use the university as a base for changing society. This was an ideology that drew many students from all over West Germany to the university in the middle and late '60s. It also drew a lot of draft dodgers, who were exempt in Berlin.

"This radical ideology, which governed in the late 1960s, has lost its influence today," Professor Laemmert says. He continues: "Revolution now is the goal of only a few small political groups and a few veterans. Today the students strike [as they did in De-

cember] about poor professional opportunities, hard financial conditions, tough competition in examinations. They feel pinched by society."

In 1969 this university had 14,500 students. Today it has 32,000.

Traditionally, only 5 to 7 percent of the population in Germany have attended university. Today 20 percent do, and plans call for 25 to 27 percent by 1980. But the job market is not absorbing graduates in positions the graduates have aspired to.

Overcrowding at the university is Professor Laemmert's biggest concern. "Studying in smaller groups is the key to excellent work," he says, "but this has become problematic."

Until 1969 the Free University was a political showcase of academic freedom. Then for 10 years it struggled with internal reform, and beginning in 1969, it was misused in part by groups that wanted to revolutionize society overnight. Still, useful reforms did emerge.

Now it has entered a more settled period as it tackles the problem of dealing with the flood of students who want a better life.

Professor Laemmert wants to show "that this university, more than people realize, has steadily done solid academic work and it can prove its own usefulness."

Foreign colleges exert strong pull

Statistics of Students Abroad: 1969-1973, Unesco.

This is the second report on students who leave their home country — with the intention of returning — to study at colleges and universities in another nation. The first study chronicled the 1962 to 1968 period.

Some interesting trends show up in this bilingual (English-French) 344-page report. From 1960 to 1973, the number of students going abroad to study rose 33 percent. In raw numbers, some 837,500 students were out of the country in 1973.

Europe absorbed the most (44 percent), and North America about 33 percent.

The best estimate of total enrollment in

higher education in the world for 1973, is 32 million. Hence the total number studying abroad is only around 2 percent. And while a significant number of those who do leave their home countries, never do return, the so-called "brain drain" constitutes a tiny minority for most nations.

Of the 837,500 foreign students in 1973, only 148,000 were women; less than 1 out of 4.

Although the United States accepted the greatest number of overseas students (151,066), this represented less than 2 percent of all college and university students in the country. Next in host country enrollments were: France (68,473), Canada (54,453), West Germany (34,288), the Soviet Union (30,566), and the United Kingdom (29,945). C. P.



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French/German

Les jeunes villageois s'ennuient dans les villes soviétiques

[Traduction d'un article paraissant à la page 11]

par David K. Willis
Correspondant du Christian Science Monitor
Moscou

Une marée de jeunes rentre de la campagne dans les villes tous les dimanches après-midi, surtout des jeunes filles, prêts pour une semaine de travail dans les usines et les bureaux.

Ils couchent dans des dortoirs et gagnent des salaires raisonnables. Ils vont au cinéma, lisent des romans, regardent la télévision.

Mais le vendredi après-midi, ils prennent de nouveau l'autocar pour rentrer dans leurs villages afin de passer le week-end à la ferme. Ils essaient d'échapper à l'ennui de la ville - cependant ils s'ennuient trop mortellement à la campagne pour y vivre tout le temps.

Les fonctionnaires soviétiques cherchent des solutions à l'agitation et à l'insatisfaction de ces jeunes.

Le problème n'est pas simple du tout.

Les jeunes quittant la campagne pour obtenir gloire ou fortune dans la grande ville constituent l'essentiel de la main-d'œuvre de bien des villes de ce pays, qui est encore en grande partie rural.

Qui actionne les machines-à-tisser de l'usine ? demande l'éminent démographe soviétique Viktor Perevedentsev dans un numéro récent de *Culture soviétique*, une pu-

blication du Comité central du parti communiste, paraissant à Moscou toutes les trois semaines.

Voici sa réponse : ce sont d'anciens villageois. Parmi les adultes demeurant dans les villes, les natifs de régions rurales prédominent nettement, écrit-il.

Ils viennent à la ville quand ils sont âgés de 15 à 25 ans. Beaucoup de filles y viennent dès l'âge de 15 ans, après avoir quitté l'école. Les garçons restent à la campagne jusqu'à leur appel sous les drapeaux pour le service militaire. Mais maintenant, d'après les statistiques soviétiques, ils reviennent à la vie civile à l'âge de 20 ans. Ils ont tendance à suivre leurs amis à la ville.

On trouve facilement du travail dans la plupart des villes par suite de la pénurie de main-d'œuvre. Il y a bien plus de choses à faire après le travail que dans un village où tout le monde se connaît et où la routine ne varie pas.

Mais des articles récents parus dans la presse soviétique suggèrent que beaucoup de jeunes gens de la campagne trouvent les villes tout aussi ennuyeuses, une fois que la première excitation de la découverte est passée.

Culture soviétique a envoyé une dame journaliste dans la ville de Kursk, non loin de Moscou. Elle trouva que le complexe de bonneterie local employait beaucoup de filles de la campagne qui vivaient dans des

dortoirs pendant la semaine. Elles gagnaient environ 140 roubles (800 fr. français) par mois - un bon salaire pour une jeune personne ici. Mais elles avaient aussi le mal du pays.

Elles ne montraient aucun intérêt pour les théâtres, les musées, les conférences, les clubs de la ville.

Tout ce qui remplissait leur vie - foyer, famille, proximité de la terre et de la nature, amis et connaissances personnelles - a disparu de leur vie, mais elles n'ont pas encore trouvé de nouvelles valeurs spirituelles, écrit le reporter.

Le démographe Perevedentsev connaît le problème. En général, dit-il, les jeunes villageois sont plus mûrs que leurs homologues des villes. Ils sont plus indépendants, plus stables.

Mais, s'ils ne sont pas attirés par le genre d'attractions que les villes peuvent offrir - musique classique, peinture, ballet - ces jeunes gens ont tendance à trouver la routine de la ville aussi peu intéressante que celle de la campagne qu'ils veulent quitter, continue-t-il. Ils sont seuls dans la foule. Ils vont chez eux en fin de semaine pour se changer les idées, mais ils continuent à revenir à la ville pendant la semaine.

Des milliers de résidents urbains de provenance rurale sont tout à fait comme ça, écrit M. Perevedentsev, ni urbains ni ruraux, mais marginaux. Beaucoup d'entre

eux finiront par vivre dans les villes. Mais comment peut-on les aider à s'adapter à la ville ?

A présent, ni M. Perevedentsev ni d'autres démographes ne semblent avoir de réponses, mises à part la juste reconnaissance et l'étude du problème.

En Ukraine, le parti et les autorités gouvernementales ont fait construire de nouvelles salles et des lieux de réunion et ont amélioré d'autres agréments ruraux pour empêcher les gens d'émigrer vers les villes. Certaines régions prétendent avoir obtenu un succès considérable.

Dans l'Asie centrale soviétique, les laur des naissances sont encore élevés (ils qu'ils aient baissé ailleurs). L'émigration vers la ville est censée devoir augmenter de façon importante. Toutefois, dans l'Ouzbékistan, le Kazakhstan et d'autres régions de l'Asie centrale, les différences entre la campagne et la ville sont encore plus marquées que dans le reste de l'Union soviétique.

La question qui se pose est de savoir si les différences peuvent être comblées sans rapidement pour prévenir un retour massif à la campagne (prévu ainsi des crises de manque de main-d'œuvre dans les villes) ou avant que l'agitation et le mécontentement ne puissent conduire à d'autres problèmes sociaux.

Sowjetische Landjugend des Stadtlebens überdrüssig

[Dieser Artikel erscheint auf Seite 11 in englischer Sprache.]

Von David K. Willis
Korrespondent
des Christian Science Monitors

Moskau
Jeden Sonntagmittag machen sich junge Menschen vom Lande, meistens Mädchen, scharenweise auf den Weg in die

Städte, um dort die Woche über in Fabriken und Büros zu arbeiten.

Sie schlafen in Wohnheimen und haben ein mittleres Einkommen. Sie geben ins Kino, lesen Romane oder sehen sich Sendungen im Fernsehen an.

Am Freitagmittag jedoch fahren sie wieder mit dem Bus nach Hause aufs Land

und verbringen dort das Wochenende. Sie suchen der Langeweile in den Städten zu entfliehen, doch andererseits sind sie auch des Lebens auf dem Lande überdrüssig, da es nicht ständig dort sein möchten.

Die sowjetischen Behörden suchen nach Lösungen für diese Unruhe, diese Unzufriedenheit.

Es handelt sich hier keineswegs um ein unbedeutendes Problem.

Junge Menschen, die dem Leben auf dem Lande den Rücken wenden, um in den Großstädten ihr Glück zu suchen, sind das Rückgrat des Arbeitskräftepotentials vieler Städte in diesem immer noch vorwiegend landwirtschaftlich genutzten Land.

Wer bedient die Maschinen in den Fabriken, wer stellt die Verkäufer in den Geschäften, wer fährt die städtischen Busse? Fragte kürzlich der bekannte sowjetische Demograph Viktor Perevedentsev in der Zeitschrift *Sowjetische Kultur*, die alle drei Wochen vom Zentralkomitee der kommunistischen Partei in Moskau herausgegeben wird.

Seine Antwort: Menschen, die vom Lande gekommen sind. Die Mehrzahl der Erwachsenen in den Städten sind ehemalige Landbewohner, schreibt er.

Sie ziehen zwischen ihrem fünfzehnten und fünfundsiebzigsten Lebensjahr in die Stadt; viele Mädchen sind gerade fünfzehn und haben die echte Klasse absolviert. Die Jungen bleiben auf dem Lande, bis sie zum Militärdienst einberufen werden. Doch wenn sie zwanzig sind, kehren sie wieder ins Zivilleben zurück, wie die sowjetischen Untersuchungen zeigen, und gewöhnlich folgen sie ihren Freunden in die Städte.

In den meisten Städten herrscht akuter Arbeitskräftemangel, und das Stellenangebot ist groß. Auch kann man dort nach der Arbeit viel mehr unternehmen als auf einem Dorf, wo jeder jeden kennt und ein Tag wie der andere verläuft.

Jüngsten Artikels in der sowjetischen Presse ist jedoch zu entnehmen, daß viele junge Menschen vom Lande nach den anfänglichen aufregenden Entdeckungen das Leben in der Stadt ebenso eintönig finden.

Die Zeitschrift *Sowjetische Kultur* schickte eine Korrespondentin nach Kursk, einer Stadt unweit von Moskau. Sie fand heraus, daß im Strickwarenkombinat viele Mädchen vom Lande arbeiteten. Sie verdienen etwa 140 Rubel (ca. 450 Mark) im Monat - viel Geld für einen jungen Men-

sch. Was sie bisher ausgefüllt hatte - Heim, Familie, die Verbundenheit mit der Natur und der ihnen vertraute Personenkreis - ist aus ihrem Leben verschwunden, aber sie haben noch keine neuen geistigen Wert gefunden, schrieb die Reporterin.

Der Meinungsforscher Perevedentsev ist sich des Problems bewußt. In der Regel, so erklärt er, sind die jungen Menschen auf dem Lande reifer als ihre Altersgenossen in den Städten. Sie besitzen mehr Selbstvertrauen und Charakterfestigkeit.

Aber, fährt er fort, da sie keine Sinn für das haben, was die Stadt zu bieten hat - klassische Musik, Malerei, Ballet - erscheint ihnen die städtische Routine ebenso uninteressant wie das Leben auf dem Lande, das sie aufgeben möchten. Sie fühlen sich einsam in der großen Menge, übers Wochenende fahren sie nach Hause, um Trost zu finden, aber zu Beginn der Woche kehren sie immer wieder in die Stadt zurück.

Es gibt Millionen von Menschen, schreibt Perevedentsev, die zwischen Dörfern und Städten hin und her pendeln. Sie sind weder Dorf- noch Stadtbewohner, sondern Aufsteiger. Viele von ihnen werden schließlich in der Stadt niedergelassen. Doch wie kann ihnen geholfen werden, sich dem städtischen Leben anzupassen?

Perevedentsev und andere Demographen erkennen zwar das Problem und warnen schon, doch sie scheinen noch keine Lösung gefunden zu haben.

In der Ukraine haben Partei und Regierung neue Sälle und Klubs gebaut, um auch in anderer Hinsicht das Leben auf dem Lande angenehmer zu gestalten, um zu verhindern, daß die Menschen in die Städte abwandern, und sie behaupten, in manchen Gebieten beträchtliche Erfolge erzielt zu haben.

Im sowjetischen Zentralasien ist die Geburtenziffer immer noch hoch (wobei sie anderswo gefallen ist). Mao ruft dazu, daß der Zustrom in die Städte stark zunimmt. In Usbekistan, Kasachstan und anderen zentralasiatischen Regionen sind die Gegensätze zwischen Stadt und Land gar noch ausgeprägter als im übrigen Teil der Sowjetunion.

Die Frage ist, ob die Klubs, Schulen überbrückt werden kann, damit wird, daß viele Menschen aufs Land kehren (was den Arbeitskräftemangel in den Städten noch vergrößern würde).

French/German

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

Traduction de l'article religieux paraissant en anglais sur la page The Home Forum
(Une traduction française est publiée chaque semaine)

Prêter, est-ce la solution ?

Etant donné que les ressources et l'argent ne sont pas synonymes, il nous faut en connaître quelques-unes des caractéristiques. L'argent est tout au plus un symbole des ressources et peut s'épuiser. Les ressources divines se composent d'idées spirituelles, qui sont inépuisables.

La Bible nous dit : « A l'éternel la terre et ce qu'elle renferme. » Par conséquent tout appartient à Dieu, qui fit tout. Mais l'être réel, spirituel, de l'homme rejette l'intelligence, l'amour et la bonté de Dieu. Nous pouvons exprimer cette vérité de façon pratique en prenant conscience du divin héritage de l'homme. Dans l'absolu, personne sur terre ne peut nous donner quelque chose que nous ne possédions déjà et personne sur terre ne peut nous priver de quel que ce soit.

J'ai souvent eu l'occasion de prêter et de donner de l'argent à d'autres pour essayer de répondre à leurs besoins financiers. Ces prêts ont rarement été remboursés, et des requêtes supplémentaires m'ont souvent été faites. Quand je faisais des dons à des amis, ils se sentaient parfois redevables ou embarrassés, ce qui créait des relations tendues. Après de nombreuses années de déceptions et de pertes financières, je pris conscience qu'il y avait en général un besoin spirituel sous l'apparence extérieure de manque.

Le dernier appel de fonds qui me parvint émanait d'une connaissance qui demeurait dans une autre ville et qui demandait de l'argent pour faire réparer sa voiture. Je sentis que je devais obtenir une meilleure compréhension de ce qui constitue les ressources. Est-ce que prêter de l'argent à cette personne l'aiderait vraiment à s'élever au-dessus de son besoin continu d'argent ? Est-ce que cela augmenterait sa croissance spirituelle, qui semblait nécessaire dans cette circonstance ? Est-ce que je ne faisais que prolonger le problème en le soutenant temporairement par une svenne de fonds ?

Je priai à ce sujet et je sentis qu'il ne se passait pas de l'argent. Toutefois, je pris aussi clairement conscience que l'homme réel est inclus dans l'amour et la sollicitude du Père et qu'il est toujours pris soin de lui. Plus tard, j'appris que mon ami n'avait même pas de voiture à ce moment-là et qu'il avait l'intention d'employer cet argent pour acheter des boissons alcooliques. De plus, il fut en réalité content que je n'aie pas envoyé l'argent parce qu'il était honteux d'avoir manqué. Si je lui avais envoyé l'argent, cela aurait peut-être retardé sa prise de conscience de son besoin réel - celui d'une régénération spirituelle.

Nous lisons dans la Bible le récit de la guérison de l'impotent qui mendiait à la porte du temple, et qui illustre la vraie façon de donner. Quand les disciples de Jésus, Pierre et Jean, rencontrèrent cet homme, ils furent émus de compassion, mais Pierre lui dit : « Je n'ai ni argent, ni or ; mais ce que j'ai, je te le donne. » Puis il nous est dit que l'homme entra dans le temple, marchant, sautant, et louant Dieu. Ce que Pierre avait, c'était la conviction profonde du pouvoir guérisseur du Christ opérant dans la conscience humaine. S'il avait donné quelques pièces de monnaie à l'impotent, cela l'aurait-il guéri ? Non, cela aurait seulement répondu à ses besoins temporaires, parce que, comme l'histoire nous le relate, il était à la porte tous les jours, demandant l'aumône. Apparemment, il était encore sous l'emprise des mêmes croyances erronées à une condition physique paralysante que celles qu'il avait eues depuis sa naissance. Pierre vit au-delà de l'apparence matérielle jusqu'à la réalité spirituelle.

Bien entendu, il y a des moments où le besoin d'argent d'une personne est légitime. Idéalement, ce genre de secours aidera la personne à s'aider elle-même. Quand nous nous trouvons dans une situation où nous pouvons tendre une main secourable, nous devrions examiner nos mobiles pour être certains de leur pureté - certains qu'ils coïncident avec notre plus haute compréhension de l'amour de Dieu. Est-ce que nous faisons étalage de notre propre suffisance et nous plaçons-nous dans une position de supériorité au-dessus des autres ? Ou bien nous efforçons-nous de spiritualiser notre pensée, et de ce fait partageons-nous avec les autres les idées spirituelles que nous avons faites nôtres et que nous appliquons à tout dans notre propre existence ?

Mary Baker Eddy, Découvreur et Fondateur de la Science Chrétienne, dit au sujet de la grande portée de la pensée juste : « Les bonnes pensées sont une armure impénétrable ; revêtus de cette armure vous êtes entièrement à l'abri des attaques de l'erreur quelle qu'en soit la nature. Et non seulement vous êtes vous-mêmes en sécurité, mais tous ceux sur qui reposent vos pensées en bénéficient. »

Lorsque nous comprenons que l'argent ne peut pas nous donner la bonne vie, nous devons alors nous tourner vers Dieu, qui est la source et la substance de notre santé et de notre bonheur. Et nous pouvons le faire avec assurance.

Psalmes 24:1; « Vrai Actes 3:6; » The First Church of Christ, Scientist, and Miscellaneous, p. 216.

*Christian Science (Christliche Wissenschaft)

La traduction française de l'œuvre d'étude de la Science Chrétienne, « Science et Santé avec la Clé des Ecritures » de Mary Baker Eddy, existe avec la notice anglaise en regard. On peut l'acheter dans les Salles de Lecture de la Science Chrétienne, ou le commandant à France C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

Pour tous renseignements sur les autres publications de la Science Chrétienne en français, écrire à The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

Übersetzung des auf der Home-Forum-Seite in englischer Sprache erscheinenden religiösen Artikels
(Eine deutsche Übersetzung erscheint wöchentlich)

Ist Ausleihen die Lösung?

Da Vermögen nicht gleichbedeutend ist mit Geld, müssen wir einige ihrer charakteristischen Merkmale kennen. Geld ist bestenfalls ein Symbol für Versorgung und kann aufgebraucht werden. Die göttliche Versorgung jedoch besteht aus geistigen Ideen, die unerschöpflich sind.

Die Bibel sagt uns: « Die Erde ist des Herrn und was darinnen ist. » Deshalb gehört alles Gott an, der alles geschaffen hat. Doch das wirkliche, geistige Sein des Menschen spiegelt die Intelligenz, Liebe und Güte Gottes wider. Diese Wahrheit kann dadurch, daß wir das göttliche Erbe des Menschen wahrnehmen, praktisch zum Ausdruck gebracht werden. Im absoluten Sinne kann uns kein Mensch auf Erden irgend etwas geben, was wir nicht schon besitzen; noch kann irgend jemand auf Erden uns etwas nehmen oder vorenthalten.

Ich habe viele Male anderen Darlehen oder Geld gegeben, da ich ihnen aus finanziellen Schwierigkeiten heraushelfen wollte. Die Darlehen wurden selten zurückgezahlt, und oft wurde ich um mehr gebeten. Wenn ich Freunden Geldgeschenke machte, fühlten sie sich manchmal mir gegenüber verpflichtet, oder es war ihnen peinlich, was zu gespannten zwischenmenschlichen Beziehungen führte. Nachdem ich viele Jahre Enttäuschungen und finanzielle Verluste erlitten hatte, erkannte ich, daß sich hinter dem, was Man gelte zu sein schien, gewöhnlich ein ge-

stiges Bedürfnis verbarg. Den letzten Anruf erhielt ich von einem Bekannten, der in einer anderen Stadt wohnte und mich um Geld für Autoreparaturen bitt. Ich hatte das Gefühl, daß ich ein besseres Verständnis von dem erlangen mußte, was Versorgung wirklich bedeutet. Würde ich meinem Bekannten dadurch, daß ich ihm das Geld lieh, wirklich helfen, sich über seine ständige Geldknappheit zu erheben? Würde er selbst geistig wachsen, was in diesem Fall offenbar notwendig war? Würde ich die Lösung des Problems nur hinauschieben, wenn ich es mit zeitlichen Mitteln unterstützte?

Ich betete darüber und hielt es für unklug, ihm das Geld zu senden. Es wurde mir aber auch klar, daß der wirkliche Mensch in der Liebe und Fürsorge des himmlischen Vaters eingeschlossen und immer versorgt ist. Später erfuhr ich, daß mein Bekannter zu der Zeit kein Auto besaß und das Geld für Alkohol ausgeben wollte. Ja, er war froh, daß er das Geld nicht erhalten hatte, denn er schämte sich seiner Lüge. Wenn ich ihm das Geld geschickt hätte, hätte er vielleicht noch nicht sein wirkliches Bedürfnis - geistige Erneuerung - erkannt.

In der Bibel finden wir einen Bericht über wahrhaftiges Geben, und zwar als ein Lahmer, der an der Tür zum Tempel bettelte, gebett wurde. Als Petrus und Johannes, die Jünger Jesu, den Mann sahen,

hat er ihnen leid, aber Petrus sagte zu ihm: „Silber und Gold habe ich nicht; was ich aber habe, das gebe ich dir.“ Wie uns berichtet wird, ging dann der Mann in den Tempel, „wandelte und sprang und lobte Gott“. Was Petrus hatte, war die tiefe Überzeugung, daß die heilende Macht des Christus im menschlichen Bewußtsein wirkte. Wäre der Lahme geheilt worden, wenn er ihm einige Münzen gegeben hätte? Nein, seine Not wäre nur vorübergehend gestillt worden, dann wie berichtet wird, daß er täglich vor der Tür und bettelte um Almosen. Er trug offensichtlich immer noch denselben falschen Annahmen eines verkrüppelten körperlichen Zustands mit sich herum, den er seit seiner Geburt hatte. Petrus blickte über den materiellen Augenschein hinaus auf die geistige Wirklichkeit.

Natürlich gibt es Zeiten, wo jemand wirklich Geld benötigt. Im Idealfall sollte diese Art der Unterstützung dem Betroffenen helfen, sich selbst zu helfen. Wenn wir uns in einer Situation befinden, wo wir jemandem unter die Arme greifen müssen, sollten wir unsere Motive prüfen, um sicher zu sein, daß sie rein sind - daß sie unserem höchsten Verständnis von Gottes Liebe entsprechen. Tragen wir unsere eigene persönliche Wichtigkeit zur Schau und setzen uns über andere? Oder streben wir danach, unser Denken zu vergeistigen, und lassen dadurch andere an den geistigen Ideen teilhaben, die wir uns zu eigen gemacht haben und auf alle Angelegenheiten in unserem Leben anwenden?

Mary Baker Eddy, die Entdeckerin und Gründerin der Christlichen Wissenschaft, sagt folgendes über die weitreichende Wirkung rechten Denkens: „Gute Gedanken sind ein durchdringlicher Panzer; damit angetan, seid ihr gegen die Angriffe des Irrtums jeder Art vollständig geschützt. Und nicht nur ihr seid geborgen, sondern alle, auf denen eure Gedanken ruhen, werden dadurch gesegnet.“

In der Erkenntnis, daß Geld uns nicht das gute Leben geben kann, müssen wir uns also auf Gott als den Ursprung und die Substanz unserer Gesundheit und unseres Glücks verlassen. Und wir können dies mit Zuversicht tun.

Psalm 24:1; » Apostelgeschichte 3:6; » Die Erste Kirche Christi, Wissenschaftler, und Verschiedenes, S. 216.

*Christliche Wissenschaft (Christliche Wissenschaft)

Die deutsche Übersetzung des Lehrbuchs der Christlichen Wissenschaft, « Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift » von Mary Baker Eddy, ist mit dem englischen Text auf der gegenüberliegenden Seite erhältlich. Sie steht auch in den Lesesälen der Christlichen Wissenschaft, gekauft werden oder von Frances O. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

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'Good friend, I anoint your head with oil'

The richest person on earth

My friend Ibrahim is a rather special man. Not many school directors in this part of the world decided to become peasants. But such a one is my friend. I go and visit him occasionally when I feel the need to get into touch with the extraordinary wisdom of African tradition, to talk to a man with no guile, with no mask, to feel a knowledge so real and palpable that it makes our Western theories read like comic books.

One of the most beautiful lessons he and my African friends have taught me — and they have taught me many in the fine art of living — is that the greatest abundance, that which lights the clearest flame of joy in one's heart, is of a nonmaterial nature. I'll never forget a discussion I had on this theme with Ibrahim, his son Ali, and Thelonus, a black American anthropologist, during a moonlit night in Kinkilba, Ibrahim's village. Thelonus was telling us how rich Western businessmen touring the Dogon region in Mali (world famous among art connoisseurs for its sculpture), had come upon a superb pair of sculptured doors which hung in a village chief's house.

"He immediately asked the chief, through an interpreter, of course, if he could buy them," said Thelonus, who at that time was living in the Dogon village.

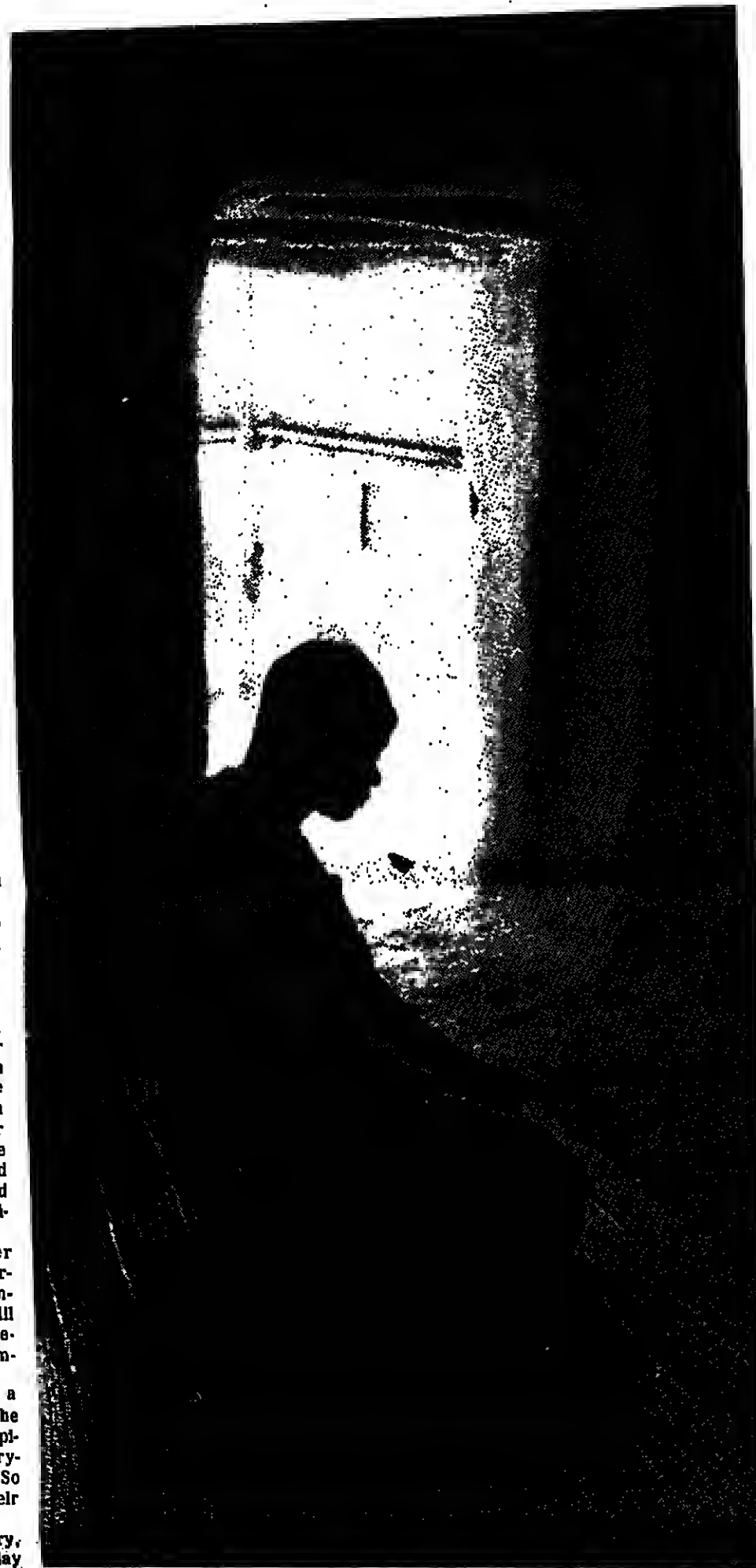
At first the chief was indignant. "Why do you want my doors?" he asked. "Don't you have a door on your house?" Thelonus had inwardly chuckled: he knew the businessman had a large mansion with full-time day and night guards, burglar alarms and watch-dogs. "I am just asking you if you'll sell me your doors," the man repeated, "for 50,000 Malian francs." And he waved 10 5,000-fr bills in the chief's face. The chief was visibly taken back: that was at least a year's income for him. He hesitated. These "loubards" (white men) were hard to comprehend. But he had not paid his taxes because the harvest had been very poor. "75,000," the industrialist added five more notes to the wad.

"It was the most obscene thing I had ever seen in my life," Thelonus added. "This foreigner with 2 cameras at his belt and an embarrassed interpreter, adding bill upon bill until the chief said, 'Come into my hut,' because the whole village was by then assembled."

He gave in at 150,000-fr, that is, at \$300, a small, dry crumb for the businessman. The next day a Land Rover came from the capital — 300 miles away — to fetch the century-old doors while gaping villagers watched. So their doors were as precious as that? Their doors were really money?

Today, in the businessman's home country, these doors are insured for \$75,000. Today also, in the Dogon country, you will not find any more original carved doors. These century-old symbols — literally priceless, for how do you fix a price on beauty, on memorials, on symbols? — have been turned into money. They are no longer valued as expressions of beauty or of culture. They have become things. Westerners have turned thoughts into things to be possessed. Hoarded, hidden away from envious collectors. And above all to be insured. Not to be loved, but to be insured.

"That's the main problem with you Westerners," Ibrahim interjected, "you turn over-



"Morning reflection": Photograph by Michael Renaudeau

Photograph courtesy of CERIC, Geneva

everything into money. Everything you touch. It's as if you had big paintbrushes and went round the world painting large DM, \$, Fr or £ signs onto everything you see."

"So we do," Thelonus added (or Moses as his friends called him because of his immense beard that came halfway down his chest. The favorite pastime of children in Kinkilba was to hold on to Moses's beard and

swing gently, a privilege accorded only rarely to the deserving few, not because Thelonus was stingy, but because it hurt). "We say Mr. Jones has really made it. He's got a \$50,000 job." The job may be utterly boring, it may drive Mrs. Jones to despair. It may give Mr. Jones endless tension and unease — but he still has a \$50,000 job. Is it creative? Does it give him joy? Is it one of service to

others? These questions are never raised. Can you imagine a job ad in an American newspaper running like this: "A creative, loving, joyful person to lead a wonderful group of people in a work of a great service to the community. Spiritual and moral qualities are essential, academic background of less importance. The exciting nature of this challenging opportunity to grow and help others to grow, compensates for the modest salary." All and I burst out laughing.

All said slyly, smiling. "Time is money you say. But doesn't that sum up the spiritual misery of a civilization? Real time is the occasion, renewed day after day, to start living. Time is a pair of cupped hands that you fill up towards heaven that they may be filled with beauty and joy, friends and parents, love and gentleness, courage and trust, children of your hopes, dreams of holiness and adventure. Real living destroys time, and hence the pursuit of money and the belief that money can buy joy."

I looked at Maimouna, Ibrahim's daughter, a goddess come to earth if there ever was one. She smiled at me — there was a special bond of affection between us that I had never experienced before with a woman. She was a sister, and a friend, and a spiritual mate, and yet something more I could not define. . . . It was like a spider's thread hanging between two flowers in the rising sun.

"You can't buy that, can you?" It was Ibrahim. He had been observing me carefully. Maybe he understood more than we did about this bond — delicate yet powerful to the point of unbreakableness.

As he spoke, something became clear to my mind. That was it. The secret of abundance is to dematerialize. To know and feel and rejoice that all real joy, all real abundance is nonmaterial. We in the West have done just the opposite. We turn thoughts — the motherhood, of an African mask, of the beauty of a woman, of athletic achievements — almost everything we touch — into things to be commercialized, owned, stored away to bank safes. . . .

I admit that I own certain "objects" which I cherish: a beautiful Senoufo mask and a 300-year-old carved Berber chest. They used to mean a lot to me as things. I used to think, "If ever the house catches fire, I'll smother it with my Senoufo mask." (The Berber coffin is a bit too heavy — 250 pounds — to carry out of a window and down a fireman's ladder.) But today, if I learned they had burned, it would be difficult even to be sad for they have become a part of me. Their place is in my soul. I have looked at them so many times that nothing can take them from me, neither fire nor termites, thieves nor rot.

Then I began to think further and saw that if you say, "I own this rare Ming vase that stands in the corner of my home. It's insured for \$35,000," what you are really saying is "This Ming vase owns me. I am owned by a belief that beauty can be possessed by one person, stolen by another, or destroyed by an accident." So you are really telling people about yourself, about your fears. You don't have to tell them about your glorious vase, because if they have eyes, they will see it. A treasure its beauty, whether it is King of the simple earthenware Twareg jar from the Sahara.

It must be true that real abundance is not material, for everything beautiful I have ever seen, every courageous act I've ever witnessed, every gesture of love I've ever admired, every friend I've cherished, I carry around with me, every day, every hour, not as memories of the past or hopes of the future, but as examples and realities to be enjoyed and treasured now.

Sometimes I think I am the richest person on earth.

Pierre Praderes

Wrong words, right meanings

An official guidebook to a country, or to a region, is in general a predictable affair: blandly picturesque, useful, and of course prefabricated, but scarcely of literary interest. It is designed, furthermore, to be read either before visiting, or at least while there, to help in planning itineraries, sifting the sights, acknowledging the monuments. Afterwards it may serve as a territorial reminder, a souvenir — seldom more.

My own recent first visit to the Italian island of Sardinia was too sudden to permit this customary order of service. It came as a writer's windfall, with only two days to plan and little enough time to stay. The chunky white guidebook, filled with deep-colored, crystalline photos of this Mediterranean place — just south of Corsica and northwest of Sicily — was put in my hands after arriving. But I was too busy looking around me, asking questions and listening to answers, to do more at that time than glance at a few pictures of the southern coastal section that I was visiting, a hoped-for new Riviera. Besides, again, this was not supposed to be a book to read.

How wrong, in this case, were those suppositions. A few days after returning home I read further for facts, and found myself re-reading words, retracing phrases, exploring sentences and paragraphs. This guidebook, at least in its English version (and looking for a translator I see only one name, Mario Tognoli's as publisher, in Livorno) illuminates a number of its many facets with experience in language which delve beyond the place to the people, raise questions, fling out illuminating, confirming answers.

Let's begin with the climate. "Sardinia is right in the center of an area of almost steady low pressure and is therefore blessed by the winds. [Blasted? Yes, blasted.] The wind-blown contributes to the formation of some cardinal sceneries with the rocks (co) erosion, the piling of dunes along the coast and the frequent catching of the winds."

What kind of vehement place is this? (And to whose dictionary, I wonder, do you find "vehement"?) First of all it is a shoreline, sometimes "jagged into many tiny inlets, promontories and coves often escorted by little islands, surrounded by sunken reefs. . . . If one goes deeper inland he will discover a mountain world often wild and extremely rugged, guarding all the primeval impressing fascinating grandiosity. (Why is this "wrong" English word so much more right than "grandiose") of the long-tma neglected original charm of this island."

And how about the people who have survived such formidable charms? They go back to Neolithic settlers who "lived on hunting and fishing, besides getting nourishment out of the spontaneous products of the land. . . . And they include by 1800 to 1500 B.C. the holders of the still-prehistoric nuraghi, unique and prolific on Sardinia. The guidebook description of these takes off with characteristic brio after taxing for a sentence or so.

"In its simplest expression the nuraghe is a truncated cone of stones roughly cut and overlaid without any mortar, covered with false dome. More than 7,000 are the remains scattered all over the island most time in towers isolated positions like for defense purposes or as watch towers, often more complex and taller, with two or three stories, and walls like true castles."

Fair game for grammarians, I suppose. But here, to enlighten my brief reminiscence, are words whose very incorrectnesses are correct, as Vincent van Gogh once observed about his rather un-Grecian painting of the Venus de Milo. Or maybe they evoke the King of Hearts in "Alice in Wonderland" who said, "I make words mean what I want them to mean." In what imaginable edition of Fowler or the Guide Bleu, at any rate, would we ever be urged to make "an accurate visit" to the town of Nuoro, be told that a certain archaeological museum in Sassari "flaunts a relic collection" (merely to boast it suddenly becomes taut), or be offered the book itself as a "gently pressing invitation to visit Sardinia."

But the ferocious moments in this guidebook have most of all to do with people; for me it was a daytime drive to the nuraghe at Barumini, and the guidance of a slender, deceptively bookish-looking Sardinian called Matilde Cannas.

The Barumini is an especially impressive nuraghe: a concentration of several radially arranged towers, surrounded by the remains of an almost equally compact village (the whole thing was concealed under a hill until 1949, when torrential Sardinian rains rinsed away the topsoil). Those towers had been able to shelter some 300 Nuraghe soldiers — for a while — during Carthaginian attacks.

Miss Cannas led us clambering in and out of the pitch-black tunnels with a work flashlight and with intense flashes of authority — of proprietorship. These were for the moment her nuraghi, rising out of her own broad valleys between sharp and spiny hills. Her feeling for them epitomized the tough Sardinian sense of a land layered with and surviving other people's attempts to possess it: Phoenician, Carthaginian, Roman, Vandal, Byzantine, Pisan, Spanish, and Piedmontese. After our Nuraghe morning came lunch in the modern village of Barumini, around the cheerful dining-table of a family-run locanda. Outside it was sunny, but inside the least bit chilly — until the hostess brought in a round, tray-like bracer of glowing coals and slipped it under the table at our feet.

No thermostat could have so perfected the climate in that room. As we enjoyed the shell-shaped pasta, Matilde Cannas thought of a Sardinian saying: "So domo e pitteddu, su coru e mami. When the house is small, the heart is big." Thara's a legend," she went on, "that Daedalus was welcomed in Sardinia when he and his son Icarus made wings and flew away from Crete, though Icarus soared too near the sun and dropped into the sea. The same spirit exists between neighbors: even today, if a shepherd loses one of his sheep, a nearby shepherd will give him another."

Later, the big bowl of fruit showed warmth for the eye as well, especially in its small but deep-colored oranges. Without thinking, I asked Miss Cannas if they were organic. Though her instant answer forgave me, it was as intense as if I had in that casual question just doubted everything she had said about Sardinia. "Oh yes. Yes. Our sun, our land makes those."

So domo e pitteddu. . . . It's a small land. So the heart of course is big, with its "spontaneous products." And Tognoli's gusty guidebook, I'd say, makes for adventurous and astirringly "accurate" reading about Sardinia.

Louise Chaplin

The Monitor's religious article

Is lending the answer?

Since supply and money are not synonymous, we need to know some of the characteristics of each. Money is at best a symbol of supply and can be used up. Divine supply consists of spiritual ideas, which are inexhaustible.

The Bible tells us, "The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof." Therefore everything belongs to God, who made all. But man's real, spiritual being reflects the intelligence and love and goodness of God. This truth can be brought into practical expression through our awareness of man's divine inheritance. In the absolute sense, no person on earth can give us anything we don't already have; nor can any person on earth deprive us of anything either.

I have on many occasions made loans and given money to others in an attempt to meet their financial needs. These loans were seldom repaid, and additional requests were often made. When gifts were given to friends, they sometimes felt obligated or embarrassed, which resulted in strained relationships. After many years of disappointments and financial losses, I realized there was usually a spiritual need behind the outward appearance of lack. The last call I had was from an out-of-town acquaintance requesting money for car repairs. I felt I had to get a deeper understanding of what constituted supply. Would lending money to this person really help him rise above his continual need for money? Would it increase his own spiritual growth, which seemed ooded in this instance? Was I only prolonging the problem by supporting it with temporary funds?

I prayed about this and felt it would be unwise to send the money. However, I also clearly realized that the real man is included in the Father's love and care and that he is always provided for. Later I heard that my friend didn't even have a car at that time and had planned to spend the money on liquor. Furthermore, he was actually glad the money was not sent because he had become ashamed of lying. If I had sent him the money, it might have postponed his recognition of his real need — that of spiritual regeneration.

In the Bible is found an account of true giving in the healing of a lame man begging at the temple gate. When Jesus' disciples, Peter and John, encountered the man, they were moved with compassion, but Peter said to him, "Silver and gold have I none; but such as I have give I thee." Then we are told that the man entered into the temple "walking, and leaping, and praising God." What Peter had was a deep conviction of the healing power of the Christ operating in human consciousness. If he had given some coins to the lame man, would that have healed him? No, it would only have met his needs temporarily, because, as the story tells us, he was at the gate every day asking for alms. He apparently was still under the same false belief of a crippling physical condition that he had had since his birth. Peter saw beyond the material appearance to the spiritual reality.

Of course, there are times when an individual's need for money is legitimate. Ideally, this type of aid will help the person to help himself. When we find ourselves in the position of giving a helping hand, we should examine our motives to be sure they are pure — that they coincide with our highest understanding of God's love. Are we flaunting our own self-importance and putting ourselves in a superior position over others? Or are we striving to spiritualize our thought, thereby sharing with others the spiritual ideas that

we have made our own and are applying to everything in our own lives?

Mary Baker Eddy, the Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science, says of the far-reaching effect of right thinking: "Good thoughts are an impervious armor; clad therewith you are completely shielded from the attacks of error of every sort. And not only yourselves are safe, but all whom your thoughts rest upon are thereby benefited."

With the realization that money cannot give us the good life, we then need to turn to God as the source and substance of our supply of health and happiness. And we can do this with assurance.

*Psalms 24:1; **See Acts 3:6-8; †The First Church of Christ, Scientist, and Miscellaneous, p. 210.

The healing touch of God's love

In the Bible God promises, "I will restore health unto thee, and I will heal thee of thy wounds."

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OPINION AND...

Joseph C. Harsch

The Disraeli syndrome

The two Democratic Presidents who preceded Richard Nixon in the White House — John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Baines Johnson — wanted to reopen the lines of diplomatic conversation between Washington and Peking. Both held off out of fear of the political consequences. Richard Nixon, a Republican with a record of loud anticommunism, did it.

Tory Prime Minister Edward Heath wanted above all during his stay at 10 Downing Street to bring about an "Incomas policy" — meaning a curb on the annual round of wage rises which have been a major cause of Britain's inflation. Mr. Heath tried — and was brought down in failure. His Labour Party successor, Harold Wilson, persuaded the labor movement in Britain to accept two years of remarkable wage restraint. A third year is presently in negotiation.

Republican President Gerald Ford wanted above all to curb the present American inflation. He even launched a propaganda campaign, replete with lapel buttons and slogans, called WIN — Whip Inflation Now. The campaign was abandoned and forgotten in a Republican stampede to try to prove that it wasn't anti-labor after all. Mr. Ford's successor, Jimmy Carter, is moving against inflation with a firmness and consistency which Republicans envy. He is doing what they wanted to do.

All of which merely proves that the performance of a given politician or political party in office is not to be judged by the record of said person or party before it took office. The world has one appearance to those out of office trying to get in and sometimes quite another appearance to the new insiders.

As a candidate Mr. Carter sounded suitably liberal in the tradition of the Democratic Party. The overtones were populist. Bankers, burghers, merchants, and manufacturers trembled at the thought of such a person in the White House. But who is complaining about Mr. Carter today? Organized labor and the "liberals" are loud in their disapproval. And the most interesting fact of the moment on the American political scene is Mr. Carter's own unruffled, and slightly amused, indifference to their protests.

"One of the characteristics of some liberals," said Mr. Carter in his latest news conference, "is that they are very difficult to please." He went on to claim that there has been no disruption of his relationship with either the labor movement or the self-styled liberal groups. But as far as he is concerned they are "very difficult to please" and he obviously is not going out of his way to try to please them.

Indeed, Mr. Carter's carelessness about the protests from the traditional liberals of his party has become his first characteristic and is

becoming his biggest asset. People who were against him in the beginning on the assumption that being a Democrat would automatically make him a "spendthrift liberal" are rediscovering an almost forgotten fact, that throughout American history the Democrats have been conservative more often than liberal.

In modern political history the first prominent politician to capitalize on doing the opposite of what he was expected to do was Benjamin Disraeli. He was a Tory and leader of the Tory party, but he instituted many a reform. He outflanked the Liberal Party of Britain — on the left. He made the Tory party the champion of the poor and underprivileged and exploited. The Liberals of that day became the party of the managerial and propertied classes. To this day some members of the working classes in Britain still think of the Tories as their real friends. Roughly a third of the working-class vote goes usually to Conservative candidates.

Richard Nixon heard about Disraeli from Patrick Moynihan, now the junior Senator from the State of New York. Mr. Nixon had "a Disraeli period" when he tried to promote a broad reform of the welfare system in the United States. His economic policies reflected greater concern for labor votes than for middle-class voters. He became just another Keynesian with his unbalanced budgets.

But the biggest surprise of all to most Americans came when the man who tracked down Alger Hiss and built his political career on anticommunism, went to communist Peking. Disraeli would have applauded.

I have heard it said that President Kennedy would have tried to open the doors to Peking during his second term. His predecessor, Dwight D. Eisenhower, had wanted to do it. Ike's case restraint was a matter of political consistency. A major feature of the Republican campaign of 1952 was the charge that the Democrats had delivered China to communism. Since Ike had ridden that charge into the White House he could scarcely have turned right around and recognized those same communists. And after him came Kennedy and Johnson who were sensitive to the old Republican charge that Democrats were "soft on communism." Both felt they had to prove the contrary.

Which left the tidal wave open for Mr. Nixon. And the same syndrome works today in the area of domestic politics. Republicans have so often been accused of being anti-people and titulous to human need that they have to lean backward to try to prove that they really like people after all. Which has left the way open for Mr. Carter to practice precisely the policies which Republicans love — but dare not practice.

Children — a \$64,000 question

Melvin Maddocks

A report submitted to the Population Reference Bureau of Washington, D.C., figures that the cost of raising a child in the United States adds up to \$64,000. If one computes the estimated salaries lost by the mother staying home during the child's first years — \$42,841 — the total tab approaches \$107,000. If a private college is attended — instead of a state university, as supposed in the example — the final bill will come close to \$125,000.

At the present rate of inflation, then, it will cost roughly half a million dollars to raise a family of three by 1980.

And so, having a child — "carrying on the race," this imperative-of-imperatives that no society seriously questioned before — has become a consumer's decision in an inflationary market, a sort of optional accessory to one's basic career as a human being.

To the economic costs of "parenting" — a horrible word that seems to have been invented to make this pursuit even less attractive — have been added list upon list of newly perceived psychological costs, all seeming to end in the petulant question: How can one find the all-precious freedom to give birth to oneself if one gives birth to this other being, then has to care for him or her for the next 20 years?

A child, it appears, costs too much in time and energy as well as money.

A final bit of bookkeeping: Even if we may think that, in every sense, we can afford a child, can the world afford him or her, especially if we are talking about a second or third child? Still another passage for crowded, crowded Spaceship Earth!

It has all happened so quickly, this devaluation of the family. In a kind of 20-year time lag, people still make the joke that motherhood and the flag are the last sacred objects, though, of course, nothing could be further from the truth. Young people have to "explain" why they get married and have children the way they once had to "explain" why they did not.

We ask not what marriage and family have to give but what they take away. And do we ever find the answers? When the family is considered as an academic or journalistic topic, voices go deep and gloomy. Divorce rates keep being counted — 95 divorced for every 100 Americans married last year. We dwell on battered wives and latchkey children. A network does a full-length documentary on incest, 1977.

The family is in terminal trouble — and well it deserves to be. This is the only slightly overstated message we persist in feeding back to ourselves. The White House has scheduled a Conference on Families for 1978, rather as if the family had become like the whooping crane — a threatened species, worthy of preservation for old time's sake, though nobody can quite remember why.

We act as if our family-revering ancestors were masochists who made life as hard as possible for themselves. Instead of running water, the bucket and the well, and instead of a "meaningful relationship" — can you imagine? — they got married and had children.

Even advocates of the family, like Urie Bronfenbrenner, professor of child-development at Cornell, seem to speak with their backs against the wall. "Does family life," Dr. Bronfenbrenner asks defiantly in the current *Psychology Today*, "hurt people as badly as no care at all?"

For an age notorious for its lack of convictions, how positive we are in our condemnations! We are nearly at the point of saying *anything* would be better than marriage and family.

And now a prediction: The bottom is about to be hit. Any day some particularly disillusioned person will read Jonathan Swift's famous solution for the family — "A Modest Proposal" — as only half-joking. When that day comes, the downward trend will, of course, immediately reverse itself, and as radically as usual in such matters. Twenty years from now marriage and family life will be no more and no less difficult than today, but the Zeitgeist will be all on its side, led by the grandchildren of Margaret Mead. And the paper shortage will be relieved by the recycling of yellowing *Meaningful Relationship* Day greeting cards, overstocked by manufacturers with no instinct for social change.

"Meaningful relationship"? What was that?

Readers write

Mr. Nixon, baby seals, children

It is destructive to the spirit to once again witness Richard Nixon being presented with the opportunity to vindicate his crimes. He draws upon the pity of the American people by skillfully soliciting our most basic emotional responses. But the first Nixon-Frost interview confirmed that the ex-President showed no skill in disputing the facts pointing to his legal and moral guilt in the Watergate affair and surrounding crimes.

Richard Nixon has become a master at donning apologetic robes without over apologizing for matters of consequence. He apologized for the guilt of those around him, he apologized for not recognizing their guilt and (in his words) for not being enough of a "butcher." How appalling that in all of these "apologies," in all of the various ways he has "admitted" to letting us down, comes not one word of admission to being any sort of personal criminal or of moral guilt.

Needless to say, the cover-up continued on May 4, 1977. Robin Swell

I believe that former President Nixon has paid the price for his mistakes. He has resigned, "impeached himself," and anyone can plainly see he is indeed sorry. He has said it all in his own words and to expect him to say it in words that are chosen for him is going too far, such as the three points David Frost said that "the American people would like to hear Nixon say."

I believe it is beneath the dignity and compassion of the American people to continue pressing for "specific words to be said" before this tragic affair can be ended.

Let's stop "casting stones" — it is enough. Potomac, Md.

For Mr. Nixon to teevia and relash his role in Watergate in this fashion is, to say the least, a gross indiscretion and in the poorest possible taste. Long Beach, N.Y.

Seal hunters. May I comment, please, on Mr. Kenneth Cressman's letter from Ontario, published in the May 16 issue of The Christian Science Monitor?

In reply to his third paragraph, there is a well-known organization in this country — The National Society for the Abolition of Factory Farming, with headquarters in London — to which many people of humane character subscribe. We do not eat broilers or veal, nor eggs other than the free-range variety.

As to his fourth paragraph, I agree that the method of cooking lobster is utterly disgraceful; I have heard that there are investigations afoot to try out other methods. Meantime, let us not eat lobster, crab, etc.

As to his comments on Canada's seal hunt, Mr. Cressman cannot surely accuse brutality on any grounds? London

Mrs. P. M. Reid

The learning process.

The article "When your child is learning to write: what can you do?" poses several questions. Learning to write is usually part of the process of learning to read. The child's own language is used (no mention of alphabet or phonics). The teacher or parent prints the text supplied by the child, which is later copied and illustrated. Its own book is soon evidenced, e.g., I went with mummy to the seaside. I made a castle. Very soon it is reading from its own vocabulary with a natural development.

The use of dead words to the child, e.g., curative, I deplore. The typewriter has many functions. Frequently it is used by children who find handwriting a pencil or pen difficult. It is an aid and not a reward. Hull, England

We invite readers' letters for this column. Of course, we cannot answer every one, and some are condensed before publication, but thoughtful comments are welcome. Letters should be addressed to: The Christian Science Monitor, International Bank, One Norway Street, Boston, MA 02115.

COMMENTARY

Charles W. Yost

The Kremlin would rather be safe than conquerors

A visit to Moscow offers the occasion to probe once more what Winston Churchill called a riddle wrapped in an enigma — that is, the real aims of the Kremlin. As one who has been observing the Soviets at firsthand since the San Francisco and Potsdam conferences in 1945, I have some warrant for risking this hazardous enterprise.

As with other countries, the Soviet Union's first priority, at least since 1920, has been its own security — not world domination. It has repeatedly demonstrated, as in the Hitler-Stalin pact of 1939, its willingness to sacrifice other interests in pursuit of this elemental aim.

The Soviets would certainly like to spread their ideology, their political and economic system, their control and influence, as widely as possible. In this they are also not unlike other great powers, though they are more obsessed by their own doctrines than others have been in modern times.

On the other hand, the Soviets have usually been conservative in the means used to spread their doctrines. The only cases in which they have dispatched military forces outside their

borders have been in conjunction with world wars. Were it not for World War II, they would not now be in occupation of Eastern Europe. They have, however, in important instances encouraged allies, such as North Korea and Cuba, to undertake external military action.

There are few grounds for believing, and many for disbelieving, that the Soviets would in any foreseeable future initiate either a nuclear or a large-scale conventional war. They are acutely aware that the former, regardless of how successful an initial attack might be, would almost inevitably result in the destruction of much of the industrial base and controlled society they have striven so hard to create, and might in fact result in the overthrow of their system. As to large-scale conventional war, they are convinced it would, necessarily and quickly, become nuclear.

A further central aim, again like that of other nations, is the growth of their own economy and an improvement in their standard of living. They have made great strides in this respect, but still lag far behind the West in many sectors. To continue to progress, to prevent falling even farther behind, they need both

peace and access to Western technology and supplies. Hence the policy of détente.

Finally, they have over the past half century forged an extensive arsenal of political weapons for the exercise and occasionally the imposition of their will abroad — communist parties, communist-controlled "liberation" movements, military and economic aid, an immense bureaucratic apparatus of subversion and espionage.

The United States has created and widely used similar instruments, but usually in reaction to communist intrusions. This ideological struggle, as the Soviets euphemistically call it, takes place at their initiative and on their insistence.

If these are the main constituents of Soviet foreign policy, how is that policy likely to be exercised in the present international environment, and what are appropriate Western responses?

As long as détente — that is, arms control and some degree of accommodation in Europe — continues to be Soviet policy, it will be in the Western interest to respond and to push farther along this road. An open society has more

to gain by whatever degree of interpenetration is possible than a closed society.

Since war in Europe is unlikely, except through a series of mutual miscalculations, the main "threat" there arises not from Soviet strength but from Western weakness, economic stagnation, social disorder, political disunity. The appropriate Western response is therefore an intensification of the process of Western association, of which the recent summit in London was an example. However, far more is required to cure these ills than symbolic meetings of heads of government.

The other area in which Soviet external aims pose dangers is in systematic intrusion into the third world in the name of "liberation." The West must continue to demonstrate to the Kremlin that this exercise is both unprofitable and dangerous.

To sum up, it is the political and economic weakness of much of Europe and the third world which poses the most urgent task for the United States and its allies, for more than any shortcomings in their military posture.

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Joseph C. Harsch

The Korean equation

Judging by the statistics, President Carter ought to be correct about South Korea's ability to defend itself without the help of American ground troops. He intends to withdraw the U.S. 2nd Division over a four- to five-year period of time on the theory that American air and sea support should be sufficient to protect South Korea against any new dangers from North Korea.

The question at issue is whether the President is correct, or Maj. Gen. John K. Singlaub who is quoted in the *Washington Post* of May 19 as saying: "If we withdraw our ground forces on the schedule suggested it will lead to war."

The President ought to be correct because South Korea has twice the population of North Korea — 36 million versus 16 million.

South Korea has double the gross national product — \$18 billion versus \$7½ billion. South Korea has more men under arms — 600,000 versus 500,000.

Of course wealth and population are not everything in military power. Training, equipment and motivation also count — sometimes decisively. But the South Korean Army has been trained and armed by Americans for a quarter of a century. It should be a first-class military force. And there is no reason why the

sophisticated equipment of the U.S. 2nd Division could not be left behind in hands which could be trained in its use during the period of gradual withdrawal.

One is tempted to say that if the South Koreans can't defend themselves with all the help and training they have had since the Korean war — they don't deserve to survive.

That cannot be said because more is at stake than just the South Korea Government and people. The main stake is the security of Japan. American forces protect South Korea primarily because it is an obligation the U.S. accepted when it conquered Japan and imposed on it a treaty providing for the permanent demilitarization of Japan. That treaty has since been greatly modified and Japan has begun to acquire some ability to defend itself. But there is still a major responsibility on the United States. And the defense of Japan requires that South Korea be in friendly hands.

South Korea in hostile hands would be the logical springboard for an attack on Japan from the mainland.

Ideally, the time will come when Japan will take over the support of the South Koreans. It should be possible someday for both Japanese and South Koreans to put aside ancient memo-

ries of times past when Japan ruled Korea as a conquered and subject province. The Koreans seem not yet to have forgotten.

Until that time comes the United States must stand as the protector and guarantor of South Korean security. President Carter intends to do this, but primarily with air and sea support. He does not intend to withdraw U.S. Air Forces from South Korea. And the U.S. Pacific Fleet remains as the dominant and decisive naval force in the Far Pacific. There is some Soviet sea power based at Vladivostok, but it is more or less balanced off by growing Chinese and Japanese naval forces. The U.S. Navy is still the queen of battle in Asiatic waters.

The danger to South Korea, if there is one, comes from North Korea's ambitious but ailing dictator, Kim Il Sung. He is reportedly about 65 years of age. He has always dreamed of "uniting" his country, which would mean completing the conquest of South Korea which he attempted, unsuccessfully, in 1950. He has appointed his son, Kim Jong Il, to be his successor. He suffers from political dissent partly due to this establishment of a dynasty. North Korea's economy is a shambles and Kim Il Sung's credit has run out even inside the Soviet bloc. Time seems to be running out for him.

There is little doubt that he would want to conquer South Korea while he can still give the orders. But would he be allowed to do so under present circumstances?

Back in 1950 his principal supporter was the Soviet Union. Joseph Stalin was still in power. Stalin gave his approval to the North Korean attack on South Korea.

Today the cautious Leonid Brezhnev runs the Kremlin. China has long since supplanted the Soviet Union in influence over Kim Il Sung. The Chinese are improving their relations with the United States. Peking has an effective veto over Kim Il Sung.

It would be foolish to withdraw American ground troops from South Korea if there were any reason for thinking that Peking wanted another Korean war. But it will be safe to withdraw those American troops if it is known that Peking has a tight rein on Pyongyang.

Is there such information from Peking? President Carter has not disclosed the substance of his talks with the Chinese representatives in Washington. But he has talked with them. It seems to me to be a reasonable deduction from his decision on the withdrawal program that he has indeed received from them the reassurances which would make the withdrawal safe.

Britain's ecumenical movement

By Francis Renny

The movement towards church unity in Britain is now piling up behind the roadblock of some solid points of doctrine. Most notable: Must a church have bishops and, if so, how should they be installed? Does the Pope have any priority over other church leaders? Was the Roman Church ever wrong in the past?

Feeling over such points is still so powerful that in Scotland, the tiny Free Presbyterian Church has just rejected reunion with the national Church of Scotland because it thinks the latter tainted itself by inviting a Roman Catholic bishop to address its General Assembly two years ago.

As congregations shrink and urban populations become de-Christianized, religiously neutral, the main churches in Britain have been increasingly driven together. Financial and manpower shortages have made it impossible to maintain so many buildings for so few worshippers.

In England, the main Congregational and Presbyterian churches came together five years ago to form the United Reformed Church. But an attempt to reunite the Anglican and Methodist churches, founded on Anglican misgivings.

Dear to the heart of many Anglicans is reunion with Rome. The Church of England insists that it is still "Catholic" in the sense of being

part of the original authentic church, by direct descent from the apostles. Earlier this month, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Donald Coggan, surprised the Swiss Calvinists by reminding them that, very far from deriving from the same "Reformation" as theirs, his Episcopal throne was that erected by St. Augustine about 600 A.D.

Over the past ten years, a commission of theologians from the worldwide Anglican and Roman churches have worked out a set of three documents on key areas of doctrine: Eucharist (Holy Communion), Priesthood, and Authority. The theologians have reached a very considerable measure of agreement, though some would say they have achieved this partly by stretching language to its limits.

But at the close of the last one, that on Authority, they did list those "roadblock" elements that remained. Among them stood out the doctrine of Papal infallibility and these about the Virgin.

But the Anglicans, too, have contributed some items to the block — most recently, the ordination of women priests. Anglican churches in North America and Australasia have already ordained women, and Archbishop Coggan is not unwilling to ordain them in England.

All of which is quite as shocking to the great Orthodox Churches of the East as it is to

Rome. So when Dr. Coggan, a keen traveller, set out on an ecumenical fence-mending tour it was to Istanbul (anciently Constantinople) as well as to Rome and to Geneva, where the World Council of Churches has its headquarters.

What was achieved by the Archbishop's peregrinations? At least, agreement to keep on talking just as all sides were beginning to feel bogged down and exhausted. Dr. Coggan also succeeded in appealing to the faithful, over the heads of their hierarchies, to take up where the theologians had left off and to do things with their fellow Christians — in particular to launch joint missions of evangelization. It is a strong conviction of the Archbishop that, far from fortifying some last, redoubt, Christians should take the offensive into a world which he believes is hungry for the gospel. If only it could hear it.

In Rome, preaching before an ecumenical congregation in the American Anglican church, Dr. Coggan took the opportunity of lobbing a bombshell over the Vatican garden wall. One knew, perfectly well, he said, that Anglicans and Roman Catholics were already seeking and receiving Holy Communion from each other's priests — why not recognize that and give them the official joint blessing of Canterbury and Rome?

The Vatican was shocked: it is not accustomed to kite-flying of this kind. The stated view of Pope Paul is that intercommunion can only come as the fruit and reward of reunion — it may not be exploited emotionally as a means toward the end.

Dr. Coggan was equally frank in Constantinople, where he told the Ecumenical Patriarch that while the Anglicans did not expect the Orthodox to follow their example in ordaining women, he did expect the Orthodox and Romans alike to be intelligent about it, not sentimental.

In Geneva, it was perhaps the Archbishop who was exhorted to come up to date. The World Council gets deeply involved in such "political" issues as racism, the arms trade, multinationals and liberation movements. Dr. Coggan was gently reminded that the Council "coveys" his full-hearted commitment to these struggles.

Another roadblock, perhaps. But throughout his tour Dr. Coggan kept hitting at a force that was trying to break through: the impatience of ordinary grass-roots church people, inspired by the holy spirit. Before that, he seemed to be saying, neither popes nor theologians nor hierarchies could prevail.

Mr. Renny is a British journalist based in London.